A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE DESCENT of the ROMANS, TO THE DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE

History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY *of* EDWARD II. *continued.* A. D. 1321.

THE king was no ſooner informed of the depredations committed by the barons upon the eſtates of the d'Eſpenſers, than ſome of his council adviſed him to retaliate upon the lands of the aggreſſors; but as ſuch a practice would have widened the breach, and, perhaps, have ended in a civil war, it was thought more prudent to publiſh a proclamation, forbid-

ding the continuance of hoſtilities, and to aſſemble a parliament at Weſtminſter, where complaints might be heard and diſcuſſed, and juſtice done to all parties in a legal manner.

In the mean time, the diſcontented barons repaired to Sherburn in Yorkſhire, where they formed an aſſociation with the earl of Lancaſter and his adherents, and ſigned an inſtrument by which they bound themſelves to exert their utmoſt endeavours, in effecting the ruin of the two d'Eſpenſers. Then they directed their march towards London, at the head of a numerous army, waſting the lands of the favourites in their way; and, upon their arrival at St. Albans, ſent a meſſage to his majeſty, demanding the baniſhment of the father and ſon, and an indemnity for themſelves and followers.

Edward replied, that the father was employed abroad in his ſervice, and the ſon doing his duty at ſea in guarding the Cinque-Ports; that they could not be baniſhed, conſiſtently with reaſon or juſtice, before they had undergone a legal trial; that they were ready to anſwer for themſelves, if accuſed of the breach of any law or ſtatute; and that he himſelf was reſtrained by his coronation-oath from granting a pardon to rebels.

The barons, enraged at this anſwer, advanced immediately to London, and took up their quarters about Clerkenwell and Holborn, where they ſpent near a fortnight in treating with the king, and drawing up an impeachment againſt the d'Eſpenſers. Theſe two noblemen were charged with having given evil counſel to his majeſty. The ſon, in particular, was accuſed of an attempt to draw John de Giffard, and Richard de Grey, two of the male-contents, into a conſpiracy to force the king to follow his directions; of having put Llewellyn to death after he had ſubmitted at diſcretion; of having procured, by unfair means, the wardſhip of the heir of Guy earl of Warwick; of debarring the nobility from a free acceſs to their ſovereign; of diſmiſſing good miniſters and officers from their places, and ſupplying them with his own creatures; of ſeizing the lands of Hugh de Audeley; of proſecuting John de Mowbray, on pretence of his having forfeited the eſtate of Gower; and of adviſing the king to hinder the barons to reſume the lands which their anceſtors had granted to the knights-templars.

They had no ſooner prepared this impeachment, than they carried it to the parliament, which was then ſitting, and where

it was read in presence of the king and the nobility, who durst not venture to make any opposition, as the hall was partly filled, and entirely surrounded with armed men. After it had passed the house, it was enacted into a statute, in consequence of which the two d'Espensers were adjudged to have forfeited their estates, and condemned to perpetual banishment, unless recalled by the unanimous consent of the king, prelates, and lords in parliament.

This sentence was immediately published; and the two d'Espensers were declared public enemies, if seen in the kingdom after the twenty-ninth day of August; the father continued abroad, and the son committed piracies at sea; while the barons having obtained an indemnity for the illegality of their proceedings, returned to their own estates, though doubtful, as they were, of the king's sincerity, they still kept themselves in a posture of defence.

Perhaps Edward might have been induced, from the suggestions of prudence and discretion, to put up with this encroachment upon his prerogative, had not his resentment been arouzed by a fresh insult upon his royal dignity. The queen, in a journey of devotion to Canterbury on the thirteenth of October, sent her servants to demand lodging for a night at the

the caſtle of Leeds belonging to Bartholomew de Badleſmere, who, notwithſtanding the many and great favours he had received from Edward, had lately deſerted his cauſe, and joined the party of the barons.

He was not himſelf in the caſtle; but his wife told the meſſengers that they muſt go and provide lodging for their miſtreſs in ſome other place; for without an order from her huſband, ſhe would not admit her majeſty, nor any other perſon, into the caſtle. The queen, imagining that her ſervants had committed a miſtake, and not thinking it poſſible that any woman could return ſuch an uncivil anſwer, repaired to the gate of the caſtle in perſon; but, inſtead of being admitted, ſhe was rudely repulſed, and ſix of her attendants were killed by the garriſon.

Had the queen's requeſt been a concerted plot for getting the caſtle into her huſband's poſſeſſion, the conduct of lady Badleſmere might have admitted of ſome apology; but as no hiſtorian has ventured to ſuggeſt any thing of that nature, her behaviour muſt be allowed to have been altogether inexcuſable.

It is not to be ſuppoſed that Edward would ſuffer ſuch an inſult to paſs unpuniſhed: and, indeed, had he done ſo, he would have been ſo far from acting like a king, that

that he would not have behaved like a man of honour. He immediately levied an army, and inveſted the caſtle, which, had it been ſupplied with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, was well furniſhed with every other neceſſary for ſtanding a ſiege.

The lords of the Welch Marches, conſidering this as a recommencement of hoſtilities, aſſembled their forces, and advanced as far as Kingſton upon Thames, in order to relieve the place; but the earl of Lancaſter, who hated Badleſmere, and thought the queen's honour ought to be vindicated, refuſing to ſend them the ſuccours they deſired, they found themſelves too weak to raiſe the ſiege: then they propoſed a ſuſpenſion of arms, till the next meeting of parliament; but this propoſal being rejected, they returned to their ſeveral homes.

The garriſon held out till the laſt day of October, when, all their proviſions being exhauſted, they ſurrendered at diſcretion. Walter de Colepepper, the governor, and eleven of his principal officers, were condemned to die the death of traitors; the reſt of the defendants were impriſoned in different places; and the women were committed to the Tower.

Had Edward contented himſelf with this act of juſtice, his conduct would have been approved by every candid and impartial judge;

judge; but his weak and ſilly mind being elated with his late ſucceſs, he was ſo imprudent as to connive at the return of the two d'Eſpenſers; a ſtep which diffuſed ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent and diſſatisfaction through the nation, as expoſed him, during the remaining part of his reign, to a conſtant train of calamities, and, notwithſtanding his good fortune for ſome time, at laſt deprived him of his crown, and even of his life.

The elder d'Eſpenſer arrived in England about the beginning of November; and the earl of Lancaſter was no ſooner appriſed of that event, than he inveighed with great vehemence againſt the arrogance and preſumption of the favourite, and the perfidy and baſeneſs of the king, who broke thro' every tie, whether ſacred or civil, in order to gratify his ruling paſſion.

Determined, as he was, to oppoſe ſuch a flagrant violation of the late ſtatute, he ſummoned all the barons to meet him at Doncaſter, by the twenty-ninth of November, and reſolved to ſend for a body of Scots to his aſſiſtance. Circular letters were diſpatched all over the kingdom, repreſenting the danger to which the nation would be expoſed by the return of the d'Eſpenſers.

The

The king, informed of theſe proceedings, iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all unlawful meetings and aſſociations: the younger d'Eſpenſer now returned to England, and preſented a petition complaining of the injuſtice of the ſentence by which he had been condemned, maintaining his own innocence, and offering to anſwer any charge that ſhould be brought againſt him.

In order to ſave appearances with the people, he was committed to priſon, until his fate ſhould be determined by a fair trial; and, in the mean time, his eſtate was taken under the royal protection. His petition was examined by the prelates belonging to the province of Canterbury, aſſembled at London, who condemned the ſentence as erroneous and unjuſt; in conſequence of which Hugh was reſtored to his liberty, and he and his father re-admitted into the king's council.

It is an old and a juſt obſervation, that beauty in diſtreſs is an object irreſiſtibly moving. The brutal treatment which the queen had met with at the caſtle of Leeds, had been of infinite ſervice to the king's cauſe, and had drawn over to his ſide, many noblemen of great power and influence.

He was immediately joined by the earls of Kent, Richmond, Pembroke, Arundel, Norfolk, Surrey, Athol, Robert le Ewer, Fulk Fitzwarin, and ſeveral other barons, who promiſed to ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes; and, thus ſupported, he reſolved to maintain his authority and prerogative, and to inflict condign puniſhment on the malecontents.

He made himſelf maſter of Chilham, and of all the caſtles of the barons in the neighbourhood of London; and, having collected a formidable army, advanced about the middle of December towards the frontiers of Wales, ſubduing in his way all the places of ſtrength belonging to his enemies. The lords of the Marches had taken poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of Glouceſter, from whence they made excurſions over the adjacent country, and reduced Elmeſly and Henley to aſhes.

Edward, not thinking it adviſeable to attack them in their head-quarters, where they were very advantageouſly poſted, paſſed the Chriſtmas holidays at Cirenceſter. Then he proceeded to Worceſter, and from thence to Shrewſbury; but a party of three hundred men, which he had ſent before him to Bridgnorth, was ſurprized and routed by the barons, who, in hopes of being joined

joined by their friends from the north, had drawn all their forces on that side, in order to oppose the progress of his majesty.*

Notwithstanding this advantage, they found themselves too weak to venture a general engagement, and afraid, as they were, to shut themselves up in castles, lest they should share the fate of the garrison of Leeds, some of them made their submission to the king, while the earl of Hereford, with the rest, amounting to about three thousand men, proceeded towards the north, where the earl of Lancaster lay with the main body of their army. Of those who submitted, the two Mortimers were sent to Tower; Maurice Berkley and Hugh de Audeley were imprisoned in the castle of Wallingford; and the rest were committed to close custody in different parts of the kingdom.

Edward having thus overcome all opposition in the marches of Wales, seized into his own hands all the lands and castles of the malecontents, provided for the security of the country, and ordered all the prelates to send their proportions of horse and foot to join him at Coventry by the twenty-eighth of February.

Mean

* A. D. 1322.

Mean while, the truce with Scotland being expired, Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray, and the lord James Douglas invaded Northumberland, and, penetrating as far as Corbridge, laid waſte the whole country. Lancaſter, conſcious of the weakneſs of his own party, which had ſuffered ſo much by the imprudent conduct of the lady Badleſmere, and by ſeveral other impolitic meaſures, reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf by an alliance with the king of Scotland; and accordingly ſent John de Mowbray, and Roger de Clifford to conclude a formal treaty with that monarch.

Robert embraced the propoſal with great alacrity; and the barons, encouraged with this proſpect of aſſiſtance, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Tykehill belonging to the crown; but the king coming up to the relief of the place, they abandoned the enterprize, and poſted themſelves at Burton upon Trent, in order to oppoſe the king's paſſage over the river. With this view they took poſſeſſion of the bridge, which they defended for three days ſucceſſively, againſt all the efforts of the royal army.

At length, Edward having paſſed the river a few miles above the bridge, Lancaſter determined to give him battle, and for that purpoſe advanced againſt him with great courage and reſolution; but when he ob-

ſerved the vaſt ſuperiority of the king's army, which conſiſted of no leſs than thirty thouſand men, his heart began to fail him, and he retreated into the northern counties, in hopes of being reinforced by his Scottiſh allies.

Immediately after his departure, Robert lord Holland arrived with a body of five hundred men, whom he had levied for his ſervice, and, imagining he was defeated and taken, make his ſubmiſſion to the king, and was committed to priſon in the caſtle of Dover. The caſtles of Kenilworth and Tutbury ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons; and the earls of Kent and Surrey, being ſent in purſuit of the fugitives, inveſted the caſtle of Pontefract, which belonged to the earl of Lancaſter. That nobleman continued his march without interruption, until he reached Boroughbridge, where he found Sir Simon Warde, and Sir Andrew de Harcla, governours of York and Carliſle, ready to diſpute his paſſage over the river.

Lancaſter and Hereford, ſeeing themſelves thus cooped up between two hoſtile armies, reſolved to force the bridge before they ſhould be overtaken by the purſuers; and as it was too narrow to admit cavalry, Hereford, with a band of truſty followers, croſſed it on foot; but he was ſlain before

fore he could mount his horſe on the other ſide, and his attendants repulſed, with Roger de Clifford, who fled into the town very dangerouſly wounded.

Lancaſter attempted to paſs the river at a ford; but finding it guarded by Harcla with a ſtrong body of forces, he endeavoured to corrupt the integrity of that officer, by offering him a large ſum of money. This offer being rejected, he was ſo imprudent as to conclude a truce with him till next morning, and returned to Boroughbridge, inſtead of taking the bold, and conſidering his circumſtances, the neceſſary reſolution of forcing a paſſage in the face of the enemy, to whom he was greatly ſuperior in point of number.

Harcla, being reinforced in the night by the ſheriff of Yorkſhire, with the poſſe comitatus, entered the town in the morning, and took Lancaſter with above a hundred barons, bannerets and knights, and a vaſt number of gentlemen; though many had the addreſs to change their fine apparel for old cloaths, and effected their eſcape in the diſguiſe of beggars. The captives were immediately conveyed to York, and impriſoned in the caſtle of that city.

It is commonly remarked that revenge is the paſſion of a weak and a little

mind; and Edward confirmed the truth of this obſervation by his behaviour to the earl of Lancaſter. He was no ſooner informed of the captivity of that nobleman than he advanced to the caſtle of Pontefract, which ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons; and ordering the priſoner to be brought from York, committed him for one night to a tower, which the earl was ſaid to have built as a priſon for his majeſty.

The populace are always diſpoſed to perſecute the afflicted. Lancaſter was unhappy, and therefore he was concluded to be guilty. As he paſſed through the ſtreets of Pontefract in his way to the caſtle, he was inſulted by the mob, who loaded him with every opprobrious epithet, and, in deriſion, ſtiled him king Arthur; a fictitious name which he had aſſumed in his correſpondence with Sir James Douglas. On the morning after his arrival, he was brought into the preſence of the king, who reproached him with all the crimes and miſdemeanours of which he had been guilty. He was tried by a kind of court-martial, compoſed of the earls of Kent, Richmond, Pembroke, Surrey, Arundel, Athol, and Angus, who, in conſequence of his having appeared in arms againſt

againſt his ſovereign, condemned him to be hanged, drawn and quartered, as a traitor.

But as he was a prince of the royal blood, the ſentence was mitigated, and changed into ſimple decapitation. This indulgence, however, ſeems to have been granted rather in compliance with an immemorial cuſtom, than out of any compaſſion to the unhappy earl; for his execution was attended with every circumſtance that could heighten his diſgrace, or alarm his imagination. He was cloathed in a mean attire, placed on a lean jade without a bridle, conveyed thro' Pontefract with a hood upon his head, to an eminence at the diſtance of a mile from the town; there he was ordered to ſtand with his face towards Scotland, and beheaded by a Londoner.

Such was the fate of Thomas earl of Lancaſter, the firſt prince of the blood, and one of the moſt powerful noblemen that had ever been in England. His character bears a ſtrong reſemblance to that of the earl of Leiceſter. Both of them concurred in purſuing the ſame end, namely, that of reducing the over-grown power of the crown, and ſecuring the liberties and privileges of the people; and both of them loſt their lives in the ſame bold and daring attempt.

The like ſentence was denounced againſt Warin de Liſle, William Touchet, Thomas Mandúte, Henry de Badebourn, William Fitz-Willams, William Cheyney, Jocelin de Deinville, and the lords Mowbray and Clifford, who ſuffered the pains and penalties of the law in its utmoſt rigour. The life of Hugh de Audely was ſaved, on account of his being married to the king's neice: John de Boutetourt, John de Kingſton, Nicholas de Piercy, John de Montravers, and William Tanſel, made their eſcape to the Continent. The lord Badleſmere, and Bartholomew de Aſhburnham, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Canterbury. Sir Thomas Colepepper ſuffered at Winchelſey; John Giffard, and Sir Roger Elmeſbruge, were executed at Glouceſter; Stephen Barret at Swanſeye; William Fleming at Cardiff; H. de Tyeys at London; Sir Francis Aldenham at Windſor; and many others in different parts of the kingdom.

The cruel and mercileſs tyrant having thus glutted his revenge with the blood of his enemies, began to parcel out their eſtates among his favourites and dependants. The earl of Pembroke obtained a grant of the New Temple, which had belonged to Lancaſter; the lands of Clifford, Mowbray, and Damory, were divided between the earl of Richmond and the biſhop

of

of Durham; Hugh d'Eſpenſer the father, was gratified with ſeveral rich manors, as a compenſation for the loſſes he had ſuſtained in the late commotions; and the ſon, whoſe avarice was inſatiable, not only ſeized a great number of the forfeited eſtates; but alſo extorted large ſums of money by way of compoſition, from thoſe who were indulged with a pardon.

Many of the barons, of the king's party, were diſſatisfied with this unequal diviſion of the ſpoils. The envy againſt the favourite was new inflamed, to a higher pitch than ever; the natural inſolence of his temper, heightened by ſucceſs, impelled him to commit many acts of violence; the people, who always hated him, now beheld him with a double degree of averſion; all the relations of the attainted barons and gentlemen, vowed vengeance againſt him; and though the public peace ſeemed in ſome meaſure to be reſtored, yet the cruelty and miſconduct of Edward, and the arrogance and rapacity of d'Eſpenſer, ſowed thoſe dangerous ſeeds of diſcontent and diſaffection, which ſoon involved the kingdom in all the horrors and calamities of a civil war, and at laſt brought both the king and his favourite to an unhappy and untimely end.

A few

A few days before the battle of Boroughbridge, the king had iſſued writs for aſſembling a parliament at York on the ſecond day of May, when all the ordinances that were ſuppoſed to encroach upon the royal prerogative were aboliſhed; and the proceſs againſt the two d'Eſpenſers was reviſed and repealed. The elder was created earl of Wincheſter; and Andrew de Harcla was rewarded for his ſervices at Boroughbridge, with the earldom of Carliſle, and a grant of lands to the value of one thouſand marks a year.

Edward being bent upon an expedition into Scotland, ordered all his military tenants to aſſemble at Newcaſtle, by the twenty-fourth day of July; and the parliament granted a ſupply for defraying the charges of that undertaking. Every village was taxed at one foot-ſoldier, and the large towns at a greater number, to be furniſhed with all neceſſaries, and ſupported forty days at the expence of the inhabitants; the barons, knights, and free-holders, gave a tenth; the cities, boroughs, and towns of ancient demeſne, granted a ſixth of their moveables; and the clergy conſented to raiſe not only the two tenths which had been impoſed upon them by the pope, but even an additional aid of five pence in the mark,

mark, towards the purpoſes of this armament.

Mean while, Robert de Brus, and his two generals, Murray and Douglas, invaded England in different places, and advanced as far as Lancaſhire, where they united their forces, and, after committing terrible depredations, returned into their own country with a large booty.

By this time the king having collected a numerous army, and fitted out a formidable fleet, commanded by Robert Leyburn, a brave and experienced officer, he entered Scotland, where he found the country a wild and dreary waſte, Bruce having ordered his ſubjects to remove all their effects to the northward of the Forth, that the Engliſh might be deprived of all means of ſubſiſtence.

Notwithſtanding this inconvenience, Edward penetrated as far as Edinburgh without oppoſition, but his fleet being detained by contrary winds, his men began to ſuffer greatly for want of proviſions. After having ſtruggled a few days with that difficulty, he plundered ſome convents, and retreated towards his own country, whither he was cloſely purſued by Bruce, at the head of his forces, who intercepted his convoys, cut off his detached parties, and, at laſt, brought him to a general engagement

gagement near the abbey of Byeland, where Edward was defeated, and narrowly escaped to York; but all his furniture, plate and money, together with the earl of Richmond, fell into the hands of the Scots, who soon after made themselves master of the castle of Norham. Flushed with this success, they set fire to the town of Rippon, raised contributions in Beverley, wasted the whole north-riding of York, and even insulted Edward under the walls of that city.

The inhabitants of the three northern counties, as well as those of the palatinate of Durham, were so harrassed and oppressed by these inroads and depredations, that they proposed a truce with the enemy, and it was actually concluded without the knowledge of his majesty.

The king being informed that Harcla, earl of Carlisle, was privy to this transaction, summoned him to repair to court, and give an account of his conduct; and as he neglected to obey this summons, an order was issued for seizing his person, and his post of warden of the Scottish marches was bestowed upon the earl of Kent.

Harcla had for some time carried on a treasonable correspondence with Robert de Brus, whose title to the crown of Scotland he had engaged to maintain, in consideration

ſideration of his obtaining that prince's ſiſter in marriage. Elated with the proſpect of ſuch an honourable alliance, and imagining, perhaps, that in conſequence of his great power and influence, he ſhould be able to carry his point in ſpite of all oppoſition, he was at no pains to conceal this affair from the knowledge of his maſter; but, in the midſt of all his pleaſing proſpects, he was ſeized by his own confidant, Sir Anthony Lacy, high-ſheriff of Cumberland, and delivered to the king's juſtices, who, after a legal trial, condemned him to die the death of a traitor; and accordingly, after being degraded from the honour of knighthood, and the dignity of earl, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Carliſle.

The king, by a late treaty with the count of Flanders, had deprived the Scots of all hopes of receiving any further aſſiſtance from that quarter; and propoſing to undertake another expedition into Scotland, he had ordered the earl of Ulſter to come with a ſtrong body of forces to aſſiſt in that enterprize.

Nevertheleſs, he liſtened to the overtures of peace between the two nations, which were made by Henry de Lally, the French ambaſſador, who had been taken

by

by the Scots at Biland, and afterwards ſet at liberty.

Accordingly, conferences were begun at Newcaſtle between the commiſſioners of both kingdoms; but as Bruce demanded that his title to the crown of Scotland ſhould be recognized, and Edward refuſed to conſent to that article, a treaty of peace could not poſſibly be accompliſhed. A truce, however, was concluded to continue from the fourteenth of March to Trinity-ſunday, and afterwards prolonged for a fortnight, at the expiration of which the deputies agreed to a truce for the ſpace of thirteen years. The articles of this agreement provided that there ſhould be a free commerce between the two nations, but no other correſpondence, without a licence from the conſervators of the truce; that no new caſtles ſhould be built upon the borders, nor any old fortreſſes repaired; and that the truce ſhould remain in force, though the king of England, or lord Robert de Brus ſhould die in the interim.

This agreement was made at Thorpe in Yorkſhire by the earl of Pembroke, and Hugh d'Eſpenſer the younger, and received the approbation of all the members of the king's council, except that of lord Beaumont, who, on account of his contumacy

macy was committed to priſon, though he was afterwards bailed by eight noblemen.*

Upon the concluſion of the truce, Edward countermanded the troops he had beſpoke from Ireland and Gaſcony, and laid aſide all thoughts of undertaking an expedition into Scotland, while Robert de Brus applied to the pope for a repeal of the ſentence of excommunication and interdict, which had been iſſued againſt him and his kingdom.

This prince ſeems to have repented of the late accommodation he had made. He was afraid that ſuch a long ſuſpenſion of arms would enervate the minds of his ſubjects, and render them incapable of aſſerting his title and their own independency, at a time when, perhaps, there might be moſt occaſion for ſuch an exertion of their courage.

He therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to bring the matter to a final and perfect accommodation, and accordingly acquainted Edward that unleſs he would conſent to a formal treaty of peace, he could not anſwer for the faithful obſervance of the truce.

In conſequence of this inſinuation, freſh conferences were opened at York, in which the Scots inſiſted upon an abſolute releaſe

* A. D. 1323.

from all ſubordination or homage to the crown of England; the poſſeſſion of all the northern counties as far as York, to which place they had extended their incurſions; the manors of Writtle and Notfield in Eſſex, which had been forfeited by Robert de Brus, together with the mean profits ſince the time of the forfeiture; the reſtitution of the ſtone chair, which had been carried into England by the late king; a marriage between Robert's daughter and prince Edward; and, finally, they required that all theſe articles ſhould be confirmed before the pope and the king of France, by the oaths of Engliſh noblemen. Though theſe demands were rejected by the Engliſh deputies, Bruce was ſo prudent as to obſerve the truce; which, indeed, he could not have broken, without incurring the imputation of perfidy and baſeneſs.

The ranſom of priſoners being in that age a perquiſite of the captors, no proviſion had been made in the truce for the redemption of John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond; and an exorbitant ſum being demanded for his liberty, Edward recommended his caſe to the conſideration of parliament.

Aids were only due for the ranſom of the king, the queen, and their eldeſt ſon: John was but the couſin german of Edward; and the

the parliament was compoſed of men who were too wiſe and provident to agree to a meaſure which might be drawn into a precedent, and load themſelves and their poſterity with a freſh burden. The king, finding it impoſſible to obtain any aſſiſtance from this quarter, empowered the earl to levy an aid upon his own tenants, and granted him a profitable wardſhip, in order to enable him to raiſe a ſum ſufficient to procure his liberty.

The nation being now freed from all fear of foreign invaſion, Edward began to regulate the interior police of the kingdom. With this view he viſited all the conſiderable towns in the county of York, and made a progreſs through Lancaſhire as far as the Marches of Wales, redreſſing the grievances which the people ſuffered from the injuſtice of his officers, ſuppreſſing the bands of robbers which had long infeſted the country, and enforcing a ſtrict and rigid execution of the laws in every place through which he paſſed.

At the ſame time he enacted ſome wholeſome regulations for the eaſe and advantage of his Iriſh ſubjects. He prohibited all his miniſters in that kingdom, from purchaſing lands within their ſeveral diſtricts, without a ſpecial licence from his majeſty: he forbade them to take prizes from the peo-

ple, without the conſent of the owner; to arreſt the ſhips or goods of foreign merchants; to exact exorbitant fees; or to grant pardons for murders and other felonies, without a particular command under the great ſeal of England.

Edward imagined, that, by deſtroying the earl of Lancaſter, he had entirely extinguiſhed the ſpirit of oppoſition, and that he and his favourite ſhould now be at liberty to manage the affairs of the nation, according to their own pleaſure. But in this expectation he was greatly diſappointed.

Though Lancaſter was dead, his party ſtill ſurvived; and the general odium againſt the two d'Eſpenſers, was now become more ſtrong and prevalent than ever. A bold and intrepid ſoldier, named Robert Lewer, who had been long inured to war and rapine, collected a number of deſperate people, and waſted the lands of the earl of Wincheſter. He likewiſe endeavoured to ſeize his perſon; but the earl took ſhelter in the caſtle of Windſor, where he remained until he was relieved by the earl of Kent, with a ſtrong body of forces.

Robert finding himſelf unable to oppoſe this detachment, retreated at their approach, and, being hunted from place to place, diſmiſſed his followers, intending to fly beyond

yond ſea, with his wife and family. But, before he could effect his eſcape, he was diſcovered at Southampton, where he was ſeized and brought to his trial; and, as he refuſed to anſwer to the crimes laid to his charge, he was ordered to be preſſed;* a ſpecies of torment which he bore with great courage and reſolution, until death put an end to his ſufferings.

Nor was this the only danger to which the two d'Eſpenſers were expoſed. The barons of the Lancaſtrian party, formed a deſign for releaſing all their aſſociates who were confined in different parts of the kingdom, and ſeizing the caſtles into their own hands.

The caſtle of Wallingford was ſurpriſed by the friends of Maurice de Berkley, and Hugh de Audely, who were impriſoned in

* This cruel and inhuman puniſhment was inflicted in the following manner. The criminal was expoſed in a cold damp place, covered only with a thin and tattered garment. A weight of iron, as heavy as his body could ſupport, was laid upon his breaſt: he was fed with a ſmall quantity of mouldy bread, and a ſcanty allowance of ſtinking water; the day on which he ate, he had nothing to drink; and the day on which he drank, he had nothing to eat; and, in this ſituation, he continued until death delivered him from the hands of his mercileſs tormentors. A ſtriking picture of the rudeneſs and barbarity of the age!

that fortreſs; but the town being alarmed before their confederates could be admitted within the walls, the place was blocked up by the militia of the county, until the earls of Kent and Wincheſter came with a ſtrong body of troops to take it by force.

The conſpirators, finding their ſcheme defeated, threw open the gates, and, iſſuing forth without oppoſition, took ſanctuary in the chapel; from whence, however, they were ſoon after dragged, and condemned to ſuffer the death of traitors.

About the ſame period Roger Mortimer, of Wigmore, eſcaped from the Tower of London, by the help of one Gerard de Alſpaye, a favourite ſervant of Stephen de Seagrave, the conſtable. Gerard having received a handſome preſent from Mortimer, undertook to procure his releaſe in the following manner: he mixed a ſoporiferous medicine with the drink of the warders, and, when they were faſt aſleep, led him to the water-ſide, where he hired a ſkuller, and was wafted over to the oppoſite ſhore. There he found his ſervants waiting with horſes, and, mounting directly, he rode to the ſea-coaſt, and, going on board of a ſhip which had been provided on purpoſe by Ralf Bockton, a London Merchant, was tranſported over to Normandy.

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The king was no ſooner informed of Mortimer's eſcaped, than he deprived Seagrave of the poſt of conſtable, and committed him to the cuſtody of the knight marſhal; but as it appeared upon trial that his only crime conſiſted in placing too great confidence in his ſervant, he was ſet at liberty, and employed in the war, which now broke out in Guienne on the following occaſion.

Philip le Long, king of France, dying on the third of January the preceding year, was ſucceeded by his brother Charles le Bel, who ſummoned Edward to aſſiſt at his coronation, and do homage for Guienne and Ponthieu, but received nothing but apologies and excuſes. Edward's averſion to this journey was owing to the ſuggeſtions of the d'Eſpenſers, who, conſcious of their own guilt, were afraid to remain in the kingdom during their maſter's abſence, leſt the barons ſhould take that opportunity of effecting their ruin; and ſenſible of the harſh and cruel treatment they had ſhewn to the queen, were equally unwilling to go to France, where their perſons were held in as much deteſtation as they were in England.

Charles, reſolving that Edward ſhould either do the duty of a vaſſal, or loſe the lands which he held of France, ſent him a per-

a peremptory ſummons, appointing a particular day for his coming to Amiens, and threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to confiſcate the dutchy of Guienne.

Edward had not ſagacity enough to determine what courſe he ought, in prudence, to purſue; he had not the courage to act contrary to the inclination of his favourite, and yet he was unwilling to loſe his foreign dominions. In this dilemma he determined to take the advice of his parliament, which was aſſembled at Weſtminſter in the beginning of Lent;* and after the matter had been fully conſidered, the members were unanimous in their opinion, that the king ſhould not go abroad in perſon, but ſend ambaſſadors to deſire a farther reſpite of homage.

This point being ſettled, they began to examine into the conduct of ſome prelates who had been concerned in the late commotions. Adam Orleton, biſhop of Hereford, was called to account for aſſiſting Roger de Mortimer, and other barons in the beginning of the rebellion; but he refuſed to anſwer without the permiſſion of the archbiſhop and the prelates, to whoſe judgment alone he would ſubmit the examination of his conduct. All of theſe interceeded in his behalf; and finding that not-

* A. D. 1324.

notwithſtanding their interceſſion, the lay-members were determined to bring him to his trial, they carried him out of the court in triumph, threatening all that oppoſed them with excommunication.

The biſhops of Bath and Lincoln had likewiſe been concerned in the ſame rebellion, for which reaſon Edward intreated the pope to deprive them of their ſees; but his holineſs refuſed to grant his requeſt, not only becauſe the facts were not proved, but alſo becauſe treaſon was not a canonical offence.

Diſappointed in this quarter, Edward reſolved to proceed againſt Orleton by the right of his own prerogative. A jury was immediately impannelled at Hereford, who found him guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, in conſequence of which the king ſeized his temporalities, and left the church to determine concerning his perſon. It was in this parliament that the king perſuaded the barons to give the lands of the templars to the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem.

Edmund of Wodeſtock, earl of Kent, the king's brother, and the archbiſhop of Dublin were ſent ambaſſadors to the court of France, where they were received with great honour; but Charles would not comply with Edward's requeſt, until reparation

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on ſhould be made for ſome damages he had ſuffered in Guienne.

He had bought a ſpot of ground at a place called St. Sardos in the Agenois, upon which he built a handſome town, adorned with fine houſes, and which ſoon became extremely populous through his royal favour and munificence. As it lay within the juriſdiction of Guienne, its inhabitants were of courſe ſubject to the authority of Edward; but, proud of their own wealth and of the protection of Charles, to whom as lord paramount all appeals lay, they refuſed to obey the orders of his officers.

Ralph lord Baſſet of Drayton, ſeneſchal of the dutchy, bore with this inſolence for ſome time; but, finding them perſiſt in their obſtinacy, after repeated admonitions, he came at laſt to the town with a ſtrong body of forces, routed the inhabitants, burnt the houſes, and levelled the walls with the ground. He was cited before the parliament of Paris to anſwer for this outrage; and, refuſing to appear, was baniſhed from France for ever.

Regardleſs of this ſentence, he took up his reſidence in the ſtrong caſtle of Montpezat, the ſuperiority of which was likewiſe a ſubject of diſpute between the kings of France and England; and as he had reaſon

reaſon to apprehend an aſſault, he furniſhed the place with every thing neceſſary for a vigorous defence, and boldly ſet the French at defiance.

Charles demanded that Ralph, and the other officers concerned in the late outrage, ſhould be put into his hands, together with the caſtle to which they had fled, as a ſatisfaction for the loſſes he had ſuſtained; and the earl of Kent agreed to the propoſal; but the archbiſhop of Dublin refuſed his aſſent, until he ſhould have conſulted his maſter; and while meſſengers were ſent to England for that purpoſe, the earl repaired to Guienne, to provide for the ſecurity of that country.

Edward, refuſing to give up his officers, the count de Valois attacked Guienne with a powerful army. All the Engliſh in France were impriſoned, their ſhips and goods confiſcated, and a fleet was fitted out for an invaſion of England. Edward, propoſing to ſend over a body of troops for the defence of Guienne, ordered all perſons, who held lands to the amount of forty pounds a year, to come and receive the honour of knighthood, that he might procure a ſum of money ſufficient to defray the charges of this expedition.

He retaliated the conduct of Charles, by ſeizing all the ſhips and merchandize of the

the French in England, deprived the queen of all the lands, and particularly of the county of Cornwall, which he had formerly granted her, leſt ſhe ſhould favour the deſcent of her countrymen, to which the d'Eſpenſers alledged ſhe was but too much inclined.

With much labour and difficulty, he, at laſt, fitted out a fleet, on board of which he ſent a body of ſeven thouſand men for the defence of Guienne, under the command of the lord Seagrave and Fitzwarin; but, before they arrived, the count de Valois had reduced the greateſt part of the Agenois, and deſtroyed the caſtle of Montpezat; Puimirot and Penne were beſieged, and La Reole capitulated on the twenty-ſecond of September; when a truce was made till the Eaſter following, and afterwards till a month after Midſummer.

This ſhameful truce and capitulation were made by the earl of Kent, contrary to the advice of all the officers in the army, who undertook to defend La Reole, which had already coſt the French an immenſe number of men, and was in a condition to baffle their moſt vigorous efforts; but he is ſaid to have been drawn into this meaſure by the perſuaſion of the archbiſhop

ſhop of Dublin, who was an enemy of the d'Eſpenſers.

Indeed, the quarrel between the two crowns ſeems to have been originally owing to the hatred which Charles bore to theſe favourites, on account of their haughty and inſolent behaviour to his ſiſter Iſabel, whom they ſupplanted in the king's affection, and whoſe humour and intereſt they thwarted upon every occaſion.

Edward was far from approving either of the truce or the capitulation; and as he reſolved to reſume the proſecution of the war, he continued to raiſe troops with great diligence and application: he gave public notice of his deſign to go over to the Continent in perſon in the beginning of Lent; but, by the advice of parliament, delayed his voyage till the Aſcenſion; and before that time a treaty of peace was begun under the mediation of his holineſs.

The pope employed the archbiſhop of Vienne, and the biſhop of Orange to accommodate all differences between the two nations; and the biſhops of Norwich and Wincheſter, with the earl of Richmond and the lord Beaumont, were ſent to Paris to ſettle the articles of agreement.

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impediments might be eaſily removed by the preſence and interceſſion of his ſiſter queen Iſabel. Both the nuncios and the Engliſh ambaſſadors importuned Edward to ſend over the queen, who, they aſſured him, would bring the matter to a happy concluſion.

The king, who was really deſirous of a peace, readily agreed to the propoſal; and Iſabel embarked on the ſeventh of March* for her native country, where ſhe reſolved to remain until the two favourites ſhould be baniſhed from court.

Her huſband, however, derived little advantage from her mediation; for, in the month of May, a peace was concluded, on conditions that were neither ſafe nor honourable. The terms were, that Charles ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Guienne, until Edward ſhould have done homage for that province; that fealty ſhould be performed at Beauvais on the twenty ninth day of Auguſt, when the dutchy ſhould be reſtored to the right owner; that with regard to ſuch lands as were held by Charles in Guienne, Edward ſhould ſubmit to the deciſion of the court of peers in France; that the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed, and a free commerce re-eſtabliſhed between the two nations.

* A. D. 1325.

The

The article obliging Edward to go abroad for the performance of his homage, was far from being agreeable to himſelf, who agreed to it only becauſe he could not think of any other means to preſerve his foreign dominions; but it gave infinitely greater uneaſineſs to the younger d'Eſpenſer, who was equally afraid of accompanying his maſter to the French court, and of ſtaying behind him in England.

In order, therefore, to extricate himſelf from this dilemma, he had recourſe to the following expedient. In a council which was held at Wincheſter, to deliberate about this very article, he had the arrogance and preſumption to cry out: "It will now "appear, who are the king's friends, and "who his foes; for whoever ſhall adviſe "him to go abroad and truſt himſelf in "the hands of his enemies, is a noto-"rious traitor."

The counſellors, intimidated by this inſolent menace, declined giving their opinions on the ſubject; and for this reaſon a parliament was aſſembled at London, where the members, deſpiſing the threats of the haughty minion, unanimouſly adviſed his majeſty to perform the article, as the only feaſible method of preventing the total loſs of Guienne.

Accordingly, he signified his intention of crossing the sea, and committing the regency of the kingdom to his son prince Edward. He deprived the bishop of Exeter of the post of treasurer, which he conferred upon William de Melton, archbishop of York; and set out for Dover, where he resolved to embark. Being taken ill at the abbey of Langton, he sent messengers to acquaint the king of France with the cause of his non-attendance, and desired that another day might be appointed for the performance of the homage; and, in the mean time, letters of protection and safe-conduct were granted by Charles in favour of the nobility and gentry in his retinue.

The king's voyage was not more disagreeable to the favourite than to the queen herself. She plainly perceived that should Edward come to France, she could not, in decency, refuse to return with him to England; and her heart was now so entirely estranged from her husband, that she could not reconcile herself to the thoughts of living any longer with him as his wife. Add to this, that her hatred of the two d'Espensers was more strong and violent than ever; and while they continued to maintain their influence, she could never

expect

expect to live in peace and quietneſs at the court of England.

She had already formed a plot for effecting their ruin, in conjunction with the Engliſh refugees at Paris; and among others, cultivated ſuch a cloſe correſpondence and intimacy with Roger Mortimer, as expoſed her character to many invidious reflexions.

It was by her advice that her brother Charles tranſmitted to Edward an inſtrument, importing, that if he would conſign his lands in France to his ſon, and ſend him over to do homage for them, he would be as well pleaſed as if he had received it from the father in perſon.

This expedient, which at once prevented a war and ſecured the property of Guienne, was greedily embraced by Hugh d'Eſpenſer, who now exerted his utmoſt endeavours in diſſuading the king from his intended journey.

Edward was at Dover juſt ready to embark, when the inſtrument arrived: but by the importunities of his favourite, who was only anxious for his own ſafety, and the advice of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſome other prelates, who were then preſent, and probably favoured the queen's intentions, he was perſuaded to lay aſide all thoughts of his voyage, and make a

formal grant of Ponthieu and Guienne to his ſon Edward.

The conveyance was accordingly executed on the tenth of September; in two days after the prince ſet ſail for Dover, attended by the biſhop of Exeter, and a large train of followers, and on the fourteenth of the ſame month, he did homage for thoſe counties to the king of France at Beauvais.

Of all the errors which Edward had committed in the courſe of his reign, this was the moſt fatal and irreparable. To part with the heir apparent of the crown at an age when he was not able to govern himſelf, and put him into the hands of a faithleſs wife and ambitious woman, who could eaſily mould him to her own purpoſe, was ſuch an egregious blunder in politics, as can hardly admit of any apology.

Nor was it long before the unhappy prince had reaſon to repent of the ſtep he had taken; for when he deſired his ſon to return to England, he abſolutely refuſed to obey his orders, and the queen declared that ſhe would never ſet foot on the iſland, until Hugh d'Eſpenſer ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom with infamy and diſgrace.

The revenues of the countries that had been granted to her ſon, not only furniſhed her

her with the means of ſubſiſtence, but alſo enabled her to raiſe troops for an invaſion of England, with which ſhe now threatened her huſband. She boaſted of the great ſupport ſhe ſhould obtain from her brother, and the powerful aſſiſtance ſhe ſhould receive from the Lancaſtrian faction in England, who were ready to take up arms on the firſt news of her landing in the kingdom.

Edward was the more ſurprized at this declaration, as ſhe had expreſſed a particular regard for the favourite at her departure, and even wrote ſome kind letters to him ſince her arrival in France. The king beſought her in the moſt earneſt and affectionate manner to come home, in which caſe he would exert his utmoſt endeavours in order to promote her happineſs and welfare. He likewiſe deſired the king of France to inſiſt upon her quitting his dominions, and required his ſon to return immediately, as he would wiſh to avoid the diſpleaſure of his father.

Theſe orders and intreaties being entirely diſregarded, he convoked a parliament at Weſtminſter, to conſult about this unhappy affair; and after mature deliberation, it was reſolved that all the biſhops ſhould write ſeparately to the queen, preſſing her to return to her huſband, and wipe

off

out the ſtain which her character had contracted by her ſhameful intimacy with Mortimer, and her connexions with the Engliſh rebels, who had been baniſhed the kingdom for their crimes and miſdemeanours. Edward himſelf renewed his ſolicitations, conjuring her by every tie, whether ſacred or civil, to return to her duty, and commanded the biſhop of Exeter to bring back the young prince without delay.

The queen alledged, that ſhe could never think herſelf in ſafety while Hugh d'Eſpenſer ſhould remain in England; Charles pretended that he could not expel his ſiſter from his dominions, without violating the laws of decency, and the ties of natural affection; and the young prince declared, that he would not abandon his mother in her affliction and diſtreſs.

The biſhop of Exeter importuned his pupil to obey the commands of his father; and, indeed, his whole conduct was ſo loyal, and, of conſequence, ſo diſagreeable to the queen and Mortimer, that they reſolved to frighten him out of France, by forming a ſham conſpiracy againſt his life. With this view they employed a proper agent to acquaint him that his perſon was in the moſt imminent danger, ſhould he remain any longer in Paris. The ſtratagem ſucceeded: the

the good prelate was no ſooner informed of this circumſtance, than he fled to England, where he gave his maſter a full and circumſtantial account of the intrigues and deſigns of the queen and her party.

Edward, alarmed at the impending ſtorm, reſolved to provide for the defence of his kingdom in the beſt manner he poſſibly could. For this purpoſe, he ſent orders to the ſea-ports to ſearch all paſſengers for letters, and enjoined the ſheriffs of counties to ſeize and examine ſuſpected perſons all over the kingdom. At the ſame time the wardens of the Cinque-Ports were commanded to receive the queen and prince with due honour, ſhould they arrive in the ſhips which the king had ſent to convey them; but ſhould they come in an hoſtile manner, and with an armed force, to ſecure their perſons without offering them any violence, and treat all their adherents as enemies to the public.

Proclamations were publiſhed in every county, requiring all perſons to hold themſelves in readineſs to oppoſe invaders in whatever part of the kingdom they ſhould preſume to make a deſcent: they were commanded to ſeize ſuch of the queen's faction as dared to appear in arms, and to put in execution the ſtatute of Edward I. againſt all who invented or propagated falſe reports,

ports, tending to alienate the minds of the people from their ſovereign.*

Edward wrote a letter to the pope, entreating his holineſs to interpoſe his good offices in prevailing upon the king of France to ſend the queen and prince of England out of his dominions; and, finally, he ſent Arnaud Caillou, a Gaſcoin nobleman, to treat with the nobility of Guienne, in order to prevent the queen from receiving any aſſiſtance from that quarter.

While Edward was employed in taking theſe prudent meaſures for the defence of the kingdom, ſeveral falſe and ſcandalous reports were ſpread abroad to his prejudice, as well in England as on the Continent. He was ſaid to have denounced a ſentence of exile againſt the queen and prince; and it was confidently affirmed at Paris, that he had ordered all the French ſubjects in England to be ſeized and put to death.

The firſt of theſe reports was ſo contrary to the tenour of all the letters he had wrote to Iſabel and Edward, and indeed to his whole conduct ſince their departure from England; and the ſecond was ſo extremely improbable, while ſuch numbers of Engliſh merchants reſided in France, that it is ſurpriſing how any perſon could believe them; and yet they

* A. D. 1326.

they were asserted with such confidence and assurance, that the papal nuncios, who were employed at Paris in negociating a peace, were staggered with the former; and tho' Charles could not possibly give credit to the latter, he yet laid hold of it as a pretext for causing all the English subjects in his dominions to be apprehended, to the number (it is said) of sixty thousand, confiscating their goods, and renewing hostilities in Guienne.

This last report seems to have been propagated by his own emissaries, in order to furnish him with an excuse for invading Guienne, and diverting the attention of Edward to that object, that so he might be the less able to oppose the descent which Isabel proposed to make upon England.

Edward was no sooner apprised of these proceedings, than he summoned all his military tenants to meet him at Portchester, by the second day of August, to attend him into Guienne; and, in the mean time, seized all the French subjects who were in England, together with their ships and effects. This expedition, however, did not take place, because Edward was obliged to reserve all his force for the security of England, which was daily threatened with an invasion.

The

The pope, incenſed at the perfidious conduct of Charles, who had thus violated the peace which had been concluded under his mediation, and ſcandalized at the ſhameful intimacy which Iſabel and Mortimer carried on at the French court, exhorted Charles to diſmiſs his ſiſter and her ſon from his dominions, and even threatened him with a ſentence of excommunication, ſhould he ſtill continue to afford them ſhelter and protection.

Charles was ſo ſtartled at this menace, that he was either afraid or aſhamed to countenance his ſiſter any longer in her unlawful commerce with Mortimer, and her hoſtile deſigns againſt her huſband; and accordingly he gave her to underſtand, that ſhe muſt quit his dominions with all convenient diſpatch.

Nevertheleſs he took care to ſecure to her a ſafe and honourable retreat, and even ſuch a powerful and zealous friend as would effectually enable her to carry her ſchemes into execution. He employed Robert d'Artois, to treat with William count of Hainault and Holland, for a body of troops to aſſiſt his ſiſter; and that prince's friendſhip was eaſily purchaſed, by a contract of marriage between young Edward and one of his daughters.

The

The articles of this treaty being fully adjuſted, Iſabel and the prince departed from Paris, and repaired to Ponthieu. From thence ſhe proceeded to Valenciennes, where ſhe met with a very hoſpitable reception from count William and his brother John, who devoted himſelf entirely to her ſervice, and afterwards attended her into England; and as Edward, who was now in the fifteenth year of his age, ſeemed to be charmed with the beauty of Philippa, the count's ſecond daughter, the young couple were affianced, though, for want of a papal diſpenſation (the parties being related within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity) and on account of their tender years, the marriage was not conſummated.

A body of troops being raiſed, and a ſufficient number of ſhips provided, the queen and her ſon embarked at Dordrecht, attended by the earl of Kent, who had now joined her party; Roger Mortimer, with ſeveral other lords of her faction; and John de Beaumont, brother to the count of Holland, at the head of about three thouſand men at arms, with a ſtrong body of infantry; and, after a dangerous voyage, arrived at Orewell, near Walton in Suffolk, on the twenty-fourth day of September.

Edmund Wodeſtoke, earl of Kent, was not only firſt couſin to the queen, by his mother Margaret of France, but he had lately eſpouſed the ſiſter of Thomas lord Wake, who had been a zealous partizan of the earl of Lancaſter. Kent's brother, Thomas de Brotherton, earl of Norfolk and mareſchal, engaged in the ſame cauſe, for the ſame reaſon; John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, who had been ſent to France to negociate the peace, was induced, by the promiſes and careſſes of Charles, to deſert the intereſt of his maſter, and eſpouſe that of the queen; and when ſummoned to return, he refuſed to obey, in conſequence of which his lands were confiſcated.

Henry lord Beaumont, who owed all his eſtates and honours to the bounty of the king and his father, behaved in the ſame perfidious manner; and thinking he could be of more ſervice to the queen in England, than by remaining about her perſon, he came back in order to promote her intereſt among the diſcontented barons; but, his intrigues being diſcovered, he was apprehended and committed to cuſtody in the caſtle of Warwick, and afterwards in that of Wallingford.

All the friends of the late earl of Lancaſter, were ready to engage in the queen's undertaking; and all the relations of thoſe who

who had been deprived of their lives and lands for that revolt, were eager to embrace this opportunity of recovering the eſtates and honours which their families had forfeited.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and moſt of the prelates, wiſhed well to her cauſe, as indeed did every individual who hated the younger d'Eſpenſer, that is, almoſt the whole nation; for the inſolence, cruelty, and avarice of that worthleſs minion, were now grown to ſuch a pitch that his name was held in univerſal contempt and deteſtation.

In a word, the ſpirit of diſcontent and rebellion was become ſo general, that Edward was deſerted by all his ancient nobility, except the earls of Surrey and Arundel; the former of whom was now in the north, guarding the Scottiſh Marches; and the latter ſhared his maſter's fortune, and was at laſt involved in his ruin.

The king himſelf was lazy and indolent; his natural timidity was greatly increaſed by the defection of his barons; and his orders were utterly neglected, not only by his ſubjects in general, but even by his own officers and ſervants, who, though he had commanded them to aſſemble a fleet in the harbour of Orewell, and collect a body of troops to oppoſe the deſcent of the enemy,

allowed them to disembark their forces upon that very spot, without the least molestation.

The queen had no sooner landed than she was joined by the earl of Norfolk, and the bishops of Norwich, Ely, and Lincoln, with their vassals; the archbishop of Canterbury, with the other prelates, sent her a sum of money for the payment of her army; and she was soon reinforced by the earl of Leicester, brother of the late earl of Lancaster, and several other noblemen, who assembled their followers, and repaired to her banners with the utmost expedition.

Upon the first news of this invasion, Edward issued a proclamation, offering a reward of one thousand pounds for Mortimer's head; and ordered all his faithful subjects to attack and destroy the foreigners, who had come over with that traitor. He granted commissions to Simon de Reding and others, to array the men in Kent and other counties in the neighbourhood of London; and he empowered Robert de Watteville to raise all the forces of Essex, and the country which formed the old kingdom of the East-Angles.

But the presence of the prince in the queen's army, destroyed the effect of all these measures; for as most people are more inclined to worship the rising than the set-

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ting ſun, all men flocked to the ſtandard of the ſon, and abandoned that of the father. Even Robert de Watteville betrayed his truſt, and went over to the prince with all the forces he could levy.

The queen, conſcious of her own guilt, and of the unpopularity of her conduct, in thus making war upon her huſband, was at great pains to vindicate herſelf to the ſatisfaction of the people. She diſpatched circular letters to the noblemen and cities of the kingdom, and publiſhed manifeſtoes, in which ſhe declared that no harm ſhould be done to any perſon but the d'Eſpenſers, the chancellor Baldock, and their abettors; that ſhe was come to eaſe the people of their burdens, defend the liberties of the church, and reform the abuſes of government.

The biſhops were no leſs induſtrious in ſupporting her cauſe: they wrote letters to all their friends and brethren in the kingdom, magnifying the number of the forces, and the quality of the perſons, whom the king of France had ſent over to aſſert the rights of his ſiſter.

A falſe report was artfully ſpread abroad, that the pope had abſolved the Engliſh from their oath of fealty to the king, and denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all thoſe who ſhould bear arms againſt the queen; and, in order to render

this story the more probable, it was pretended that she was accompanied by two cardinals. These artifices, however gross and barefaced, had nevertheless the desired effect; the queen's army daily encreased, while that of Edward was gradually diminished.

The king, resolving to make one effort before he would abandon his capital, applied to the city for a body of forces; but his demand met with a very indifferent reception. The magistrates replied, that they would always preserve for the king, the queen, and the prince, the heir apparent of the crown, all the respect and deference which they had ever shewn to the royal family; that they would shut their gates against foreign troops, should any attempt to enter the city; but, with regard to marching into the field, they begged to be excused, as it was entirely inconsistent with their privileges, by which they were exempted from the obligation of serving without their gates, except for a single day, and that only on condition of returning home before sun-set.

From this dry and ambiguous answer, Edward plainly perceived that he had nothing to expect from the citizens of London; and he therefore set out for Bristol, in hopes of raising an army in those quarters,

ters, ſo as to enable him to make head againſt his enemies. He committed his younger ſon, together with his neice, the wife of the younger d'Eſpenſer, to the care of Walter Stapledon, biſhop of Exeter, and governor of the Tower, who, together with the biſhops of London and Wincheſter, had on the thirtieth of September publiſhed, at St. Paul's, the pope's bull of excommunication againſt all who ſhould preſume to invade the realm, or diſturb the peace of the nation.

The king had no ſooner departed from London, than the populace ran to arms, ſeized the mayor, who was warmly attached to the royal cauſe, and compelled him, on pain of inſtant death, to authorize their proceedings; then they engaged in a formal aſſociation, to kill and deſtroy all perſons, without diſtinction of rank and condition, who ſhould dare to oppoſe the enterpriſe of the queen, or intrench upon the liberties of the city.

In conſequence of this reſolution, they apprehended John Marſhall, who enjoyed a poſt under the younger d'Eſpenſer, cut off his head, and pillaged his effects. Then they rifled the houſe of the biſhop of Exeter, who happened at that time to be coming to town from his ſeat in the country.

Though

Though he received intelligence of this inſurrection by the road, he was either ſo imprudent as to deſpiſe the danger, or was deſirous of getting into the Tower, as the place of the greateſt ſafety. But he had hardly reached the North door of St. Paul's, when he was ſeized by the mob, thrown from his horſe, and dragged to the great croſs in Cheapſide, where the enraged populace ſevered his head from his body.

His nephew, and one of his gentlemen, met with the ſame fate; their bodies were thrown into the river; and the ringleaders ſent the biſhop's head in a preſent to the queen. Next day they ſurpriſed John de Weſton, governour of the Tower, ſet all the priſoners at liberty, removed the king's warders, ſupplied their places with others of their own nomination, and took poſſeſſion of the place in the name of John de Eltham the king's brother.

Mean while the queen had continued her march by Cambridge, Baldock, and Dunſtaple, and had now reached Wallingford, having already detached the earl of Kent, and John de Hainault, with a ſtrong body of troops, in purſuit of the king, who was obliged to embark at Briſtol for Wales, where he hoped he ſhould be able to aſſemble an army of Old Britons.

Hugh

Hugh d'Eſpenſer, earl of Wincheſter, was left with a few forces to defend the town and caſtle of Briſtol; but the citizens and garriſon were ſo infected with the general ſpirit of diſaffection, that in three days he was either delivered up to the enemy, or obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Iſabel was then at Glouceſter, where ſhe had been lately joined by the lords Piercy and Wake, and other noblemen of the Marches; and, thus reinforced, ſhe had formed a deſign either of purſuing her huſband into Wales, or of intercepting him in his retreat, ſhould he endeavour to eſcape into the northern counties: but ſhe was no ſooner informed of the ſurrender of Briſtol, than ſhe repaired to that place, in order to determine the fate of Wincheſter.

On the twenty-ſixth of October, he was brought before Sir William Truſſel, whom ſhe appointed chief-juſtice on the occaſion; and, in preſence of the earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Leiceſter, Roger de Mortimer, the lord Wake, and other noblemen, was accuſed of having introduced a new and dangerous cuſtom of condemning people without trial, widened the breach between the king and his barons, and adviſed his majeſty to put the late earl of Lancaſter to death,

death, without cauſe or form of proceſs, and to confiſcate his eſtate.

He was accordingly condemned to be hanged for robbery, drawn for treaſon, and beheaded for invading the privileges of the church, in having ſeized the temporalities of the ſee of Hereford, in the caſe of Adam Orleton. The ſentence was executed in its utmoſt rigour. The earl, who was now about ninety years of age, was hanged upon the common gallows, his body cut in pieces and given to the dogs for food, and his head erected upon a pole at Wincheſter, and expoſed to the inſults of the populace.

The queen had no ſooner arrived at Briſtol, than ſhe iſſued a proclamation ſummoning the king to return to his capital, and re-aſſume the reins of government, provided he would engage to regulate his conduct by the advice of his barons. As he neglected to obey this ſummons, the prince was declared guardian and regent of the realm during his father's abſence, and all the prelates and noblemen who were preſent ſwore fealty to him in that capacity. As he wanted the great ſeal, he made uſe of his own private ſeal in all public deeds; and, among other acts of government, he beſtowed the poſt of chancellor upon the biſhop of Norwich, and

that

that of treaſurer upon the biſhop of Winton.

Mean while the unhappy monarch, attended by the younger d'Eſpenſer, repaired to Chepſtow, and thence to Caerfilly in Glamorganſhire, in hopes of raiſing the vaſſals of the earldom of Glouceſter, and his own military tenants in the county of Pembroke, and other parts of South-Wales; but he ſoon found that Hugh had no influence over his own vaſſals, and that the Welch had forgot a notion which they once ſeemed to entertain with equal pride and ſatisfaction, that the king was a native of their country.

Thus diſappointed, he took ſhipping for Ireland; but the wind being contrary, he was beat about for a whole week in the weſtern ſea, and at laſt landing privately near Swanſey, took refuge in the monaſtery of Neath.

From thence he ſent the abbot of the place, his own nephew, Edward de Bohun, fourth ſon of the late earl of Hereford, Reſe ap Griffith, and two other commiſſioners, to treat with the queen and the young prince; but whether the terms propoſed by Edward were too high, or the queen was determined to agree to no conditions, the negociation proved abortive.

By

By this time Iſabel had advanced with her army to Hereford, where ſhe continued for the ſpace of a month; and from thence ſhe detached the earl of Leiceſter, who now now aſſumed the title of Lancaſter, together with ſome Welch noblemen and a body of marchers, to diſcover the king's retreat; and, if poſſible, to ſeize his perſon. This commiſſion they eaſily executed by bribing the Welch, who delivered him into the hands of his enemies: he was ſeized on the ſixteenth of November, with Robert de Baldock and Simon de Reding, in or near the caſtle of Lantreſſan; and Hugh d'Eſpenſer was taken in a neighbouring wood.

Edward was conveyed to Lidbury, and afterwards to the caſtle of Kenilworth, where he remained all the winter in the cuſtody of the earl of Lancaſter. Baldock, Reding, and d'Eſpenſer were removed to Hereford, where the earl of Arundel (who had been lately ſeized in Shropſhire) together with John Daniel, and Thomas de Muchedeure had been already beheaded as friends to the king, who was now obliged to ſurrender the great ſeal to his ſon, as guardian of the realm.

Hugh d'Eſpenſer was arraigned before the ſame judges who had tried his father, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, beheaded,

headed, and quartered. He ſuffered the ſentence with great reſolution; his limbs were diſperſed through the principal towns of England, and his head was ſent to London, where the citizens received it with marks of brutal joy, and fixed it on the bridge. His eldeſt ſon Hugh would probably have undergone the ſame fate, had he not defended himſelf ſo bravely in the caſtle of Caerfilly, that he procured an honourable capitulation, by which he and his garriſon were ſecured in their perſons and effects.

Simon de Reding being accuſed of ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the queen's conduct, was condemned and executed. Robert de Baldock, the king's chancellor, was claimed as an eccleſiaſtic by the biſhop of Hereford, who removed him to his own houſe, near Old Fiſh-ſtreet-hill, in London, from whence he was dragged by the bailiffs and rabble, and impriſoned in Newgate, where, on the twenty-eigth day of May following, he expired in great miſery.

No place, however ſacred, was ſecure from the fury of the populace. The treaſure belonging to the chancellor was lodged in St. Paul's, and that of the earl of Arundel in the convent of St. Trinity; but both theſe were plundered, as well as the houſe of a company of merchants, called

the Bardi, who acted as bankers to Hugh d'Espenser.

Anthony d'Espagne, a wealthy merchant, concerned in farming the duty upon wine, was dragged barefoot out of the city, to a place called Nonemensland, and there beheaded by the furious mob. The houses of John lord Charleton, Sir William Cliff, and many others, were plundered. The officials and commissaries of the ecclesiastical courts were so terrified, that they durst not call a consistory for more than a twelvemonth; the mayor and the sheriffs were afraid to hold their hustings, or hear causes; and the execution of justice was entirely obstructed, while the rabble of London, as well as of all the principal cities in the kingdom, committed every species of wickedness with equal wantonness and impunity.

The queen and her son, having passed their Christmas at Wallingford, repaired to London in the beginning of January;* and the prince, as guardian of the realm, summoned a parliament to meet on the seventh day of that month, in order to settle the government.

The members had no sooner assembled, than the house was surrounded by the populace of London, who raised terrible outcries

* A. D. 1327.

cries againſt the king and his miniſters; and the biſhop of Hereford declared that the queen could no longer cohabit with Edward, without being expoſed to the imminent danger of her life; and then putting the queſtion to the barons, whether they would have the father or the ſon for their king, deſired them to conſider the matter, and give their anſwer next day at three o'clock in the afternoon.

When they met at the time appointed, the few adherents of the king were ſo overawed by the clamours of the people without doors, and the power of the faction within, that they were afraid to ſpeak their real ſentiments; and the ſame queſtion being propoſed, it was agreed to raiſe the prince to the throne. Accordingly, the lords did homage to him in the houſe: then he was conducted into Weſtminſter-hall, and ſhewn to the populace as their ſovereign: the archbiſhop of Canterbury made a diſcourſe to the people, and, either with a view of making his court to them, or of juſtifying the proceedings of the parliament, he choſe for his text the following words: "The voice of the peo-"ple is the voice of God:" and the biſhops of Winton and Hereford held forth on the ſame ſubject.

The lord Wake, and ſome of the principal citizens of London, having prevailed upon the mob to be ſilent, young Edward was proclaimed king; and ſeveral hymns were ſung to ſolemnize the inauguration. Some of the prelates, however, refuſed to ſwear fealty to the new king, in conſequence of which, they were forcibly carried by the populace to Guildhall, where they obliged them to comply, and to promiſe, upon oath, to defend and maintain the rights and liberties of the city of London.

But though the prince had received the name, he could not aſſume the full authority of king, while his father remained unimpeached. It was therefore reſolved to depoſe the unhappy monarch; and a parliament was immediately ſummoned for that purpoſe, Mortimer having taken care to procure writs for returning eight and forty members from South and North-Wales, in order to ſtrengthen his party.

The aſſembly was no ſooner met, than the biſhop of Wincheſter drew up an impeachment againſt the king, conſiſting of ſix articles, which were as follow: that he had not capacity to govern the kingdom, inaſmuch as it appeared, that, during the whole courſe of his reign, he had been miſled by evil counſellors to his own diſhonour, and the prejudice of the church and people,

ple, without regarding the advice of the greateſt and wiſeſt men of the realm: that he ſpent his time in mean and trifling purſuits, unworthy of his royal character, and neglected the affairs of the public: that by his indolence and bad conduct, he had loſt the kingdom of Scotland, together with lands and territories in Gaſcony and Ireland: that he deſtroyed the holy church, by proſecuting and impriſoning clergymen; and that he cauſed many noblemen of the land to be impriſoned, baniſhed, deprived of their eſtates, and put to an ignominious death: that, moved by the advice of evil counſellors, and by his own avarice, he had broken his coronation-oath, in refuſing to do juſtice to all his ſubjects with candour and impartiality: that he abandoned his kingdom, and did all that lay in his power to deſtroy his people: that, after many attempts made to reclaim him, he was found to be altogether incorrigible; and that theſe truths being notorious and inconteſtible, he ought, of conſequence, to be depoſed.

This impeachment being read in preſence of the prince, ſeated on the throne, it was reſolved, that young Edward ſhould aſſume the reins of government, and that Edward II. ſhould be no longer ſtiled king

of England, but be called Edward of Caernarvon, the king's father.

When the queen was informed of this ſentence, ſhe pretended to be filled with the deepeſt ſorrow and affliction; ſhe affected to weep and wail, and even to ſwoon at the news of her huſband's depoſition; and the young prince was taught to declare, that though he had undertaken the management of public affairs, he would not accept the crown without his father's conſent.

In order to remove this objection, and juſtify the irregularity of their proceedings, the parliament deputed three biſhops, two earls, the ſame number of barons, abbots, and juſtices, with ſome repreſentatives of counties and boroughs, to go to the king at Kenilworth, and acquaint him with their reſolution.

The three biſhops waited upon him before the reſt, and, after many profeſſions of eſteem and regard, adviſed him to make a voluntary reſignation of his crown; they aſſured him that if he complied, he ſhould be treated in the moſt honourable manner, but, that his refuſal would be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences to his family; for, in that caſe, the parliament were determined to raiſe a ſtranger to the throne.

So

BRITISH MUSEUM

Edward 2d surrenders the Crown to his Son.

T Hulett sculp

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

So saying they retired, in order to give him time to consider of the matter, and prepare a proper answer for the whole body of the commissioners, who were now approaching. Upon their arrival, the unfortunate king came out of his bed-chamber, clad in a mourning-gown, and with looks that were strongly expressive of his inward grief and sorrow. The remembrance of his past misconduct, his perfect knowledge of the nature of their message, the terrible prospect of being tumbled headlong from the summit of power and grandeur to the depth of misery and disgrace; these, and every other reflection, that would naturally occur to a man in his circumstances, made such a deep impression upon his mind, that he fell into a swoon, from which he was recovered with great difficulty. As soon as he came to himself, the deputies acquainted him with the resolution of the parliament, and begged to know his majesty's pleasure.

It was now too late to argue or remonstrate; Edward knew that his enemies were fully able to carry their point, and that their inclination was equal to their power. He therefore replied, with such a mournful countenance, and such a piteous tone as affected the hearts of all the spectators, that he entirely submitted to the will of his

his parliament, and with ſo much the greater reſignation, as he humbly confeſſed, that all his misfortunes were the natural conſequence, as well as the juſt puniſhment of his ſins. He, nevertheleſs, added, that it gave him the moſt exquiſite pain to behold the extreme averſion which his people bore him; but that if his ſorrow could admit of any mitigation, he received ſome comfort from the fidelity and attachment which they expreſſed to his ſon, and for which he returned them his moſt grateful acknowledgments.

Then he proceeded to the ceremony of reſignation, by ſurrendering to the deputies the crown, ſceptre, and other enſigns of royalty, which had been brought thither for that purpoſe; Sir William Truſſel, who acted as procurator for the parliament, did, in their name, give back, and renounce the homage and fealty which they had ſworn to Edward, proteſting, that they would not, for the future, hold any thing of him as king, nor pay him any further allegiance; and Sir William Blunt, the high-ſteward, broke his ſtaff, and declared that all the king's officers were diſcharged from his ſervice.

The commiſſioners had no ſooner returned with an account of this tranſaction, than the queen got the better of her hypo-

hypocritical ſorrow, and the prince agreed to his own coronation.

The firſt public act, in thoſe days, upon the acceſſion of a new king, was to proclaim his peace, and require every perſon to keep it; and to grant liberty to all the ſubjects to ſue in his courts of juſtice; and this proclamation was accordingly made on the twenty-fourth day of January.

On the firſt of February, Edward III. was knighted by John de Hainault, and then crowned in Weſtminſter-abbey, by Walter archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of nine biſhops, the earls of Norfolk, Kent, Lancaſter, Surrey and Hereford, Roger Mortimer, Henry de Beaumont, and almoſt all the nobility of the kingdom.*

In a few days after the coronation, a petition was preſented to parliament, praying

* On this occaſion a medal was ſtruck and thrown among the people, in order to perſuade them that the preſent revolution had been effected by the unanimous conſent of the nation, and that the young prince had quietly aſcended, and not uſurped his father's throne. On one ſide of it was repreſented the king crowned, and laying his ſceptre on a heap of hearts, with this motto:

POPULO DAT JURA VOLENTI:

"A willing people own his lawful ſway."

On

ing that all ſentences of baniſhment, outlawry, fines, ranſoms, or penalties denounced againſt thoſe who had been engaged in the rebellion of the late earl of Lancaſter, ſhould be repealed, and that they and their heirs ſhould recover poſſeſſion of their forfeited eſtates, and of all their goods and chattels.

As the parliament was chiefly compoſed of the friends of the Lancaſtrian party, the petition was readily granted, together with a general pardon for all the murders, felonies, and other offences, committed by the partizans of the queen to the day of the coronation.

The ſucceſs attending the ſchemes of the queen and Mortimer, had hitherto exceeded their moſt ſanguine hopes, and even equalled

On the reverſe was a hand held out to ſave a falling crown, with this inſcription:

NON RAPIT, SED RECIPIT:
"He uſurpes not, but receives."

This account we have taken from the life of Edward III. written by Joſhua Barnes, who tells us that he ſaw one of thoſe medals at a friend's chambers in Gray's-Inn. But biſhop Nicholſon ſays, that the devices and mottos are by far too ingenious and elegant for the rude and barbarous age to which they are ſuppoſed to refer; and that, in his opinion, the medals are of a much later date. *Hiſt. Lib.* part III. p. 150.

equalled their fondeſt wiſhes; but they had ſtill reaſon to dread a reverſe of fortune. They obſerved that many of thoſe, who had favoured, and even aſſiſted them in puniſhing the d'Eſpenſers, were highly diſpleaſed at the depoſition of the king, an extremity, to which the more moderate party never thought that matters would have been carried.

They were ſenſible that their own crimes, and the king's ſufferings, could not long be concealed from the public; they knew that the Engliſh were always implacable towards triumphant vice, and ever humane and compaſſionate towards diſtreſſed and repenting royalty; they had reaſon to fear that the people, when once cooled from the fury of faction, and fully informed of all circumſtances, would ſtrip them of their uſurped and ill-got power, and reſtore the depoſed monarch to his former dignity; and they therefore reſolved to prevent theſe fatal conſequences, by putting an end to the life of the unhappy Edward.

They had flattered themſelves, that, as his temper was remarkably keen and impatient, the rigour of his confinement, and the violence of his grief and vexation, would have already brought him to the grave, and ſaved them the trouble of that diſagreeable taſk; but while he remained in the

the cuſtody of the earl of Lancaſter, he was treated with ſo much lenity and tenderneſs, that he began to be reconciled to his condition, and even diverted himſelf by compoſing ſome elegies on his misfortunes, one of which has come to our hands, and is far from being inelegant for the age in which it was written.

Diſappointed in theſe expectations, they now determined to take a more effectual method for accompliſhing their horrid purpoſe. With this view they ordered him to be conveyed from Kenilworth to Berkley-caſtle in Glouceſterſhire, where he was committed to the care of the lord Berkley, Sir Thomas Gurnay, and Sir John Mautravers, who were entruſted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him.

While Berkley was his keeper, he was ſtill uſed with the gentleneſs due to his rank and his misfortunes; but when Mautravers and Gurnay's turn came, he was treated in the moſt barbarous and cruel manner. As they had heard of a deſign to deliver him from captivity, formed by one William Aylmer, and Thomas Dunhed, a Dominican, Gurnay and Mautravers were ordered to hurry him about in the night from one caſtle to another, that ſo his friends might not know the place of his con-

BRITISH MUSEUM

Edward 2d shaved in an open Field with Water taken from a Ditch.

T. Hulett sculp.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

confinement; and for this purpoſe they were furniſhed with a commiſſion, empowering them and their followers to enter and command any fortreſs in the kingdom.

In one of theſe nocturnal journies, his ſavage and inhuman tormentors had the inſolence to crown him with hay, and even forced him to alight in a puddle, that he might have his head and beard ſhaved, the better to diſguiſe him, and prevent his being diſcovered by any perſon who ſhould happen to meet them on the road. To heighten the indignity, they ordered the barber to make uſe of cold and dirty water, ſcooped from the ditch in an old and ruſty helmet; and when Edward deſired it to be changed, and was ſtill denied his requeſt, he burſt out into tears, which bedewed his cheeks, and exclaimed, that, in ſpite of their inſolence, he ſhould be ſhaved with clean and warm water.

Having thus eluded the reſearches, and defeated the attempts of his friends, who had any thoughts of ſetting him at liberty, they brought him back to Berkley-caſtle, where, as the lord of that place was now confined at Bradeley, with a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, he was left entirely to their management, and they now reſolved, if poſſi-

ble, to break his ſpirit by inſults and ill uſage.

Horrid noiſes were contrived, to prevent or interrupt his natural reſt; he was forced to eat of the moſt unſavoury and unwholeſome food; he was lodged in a cold damp turret, on a level with the battlements and the leads, which were covered with putrid carrion and noiſome carcaſſes, ſufficient to infect the air and almoſt ſtifle him with their intolerable ſtench; the wretched chamber in which he lay, was commonly overflowed with rain-water; he was ſubjected to perpetual ſcoffs and inſults from the meaneſt ſlaves and varlets, who were permitted, encouraged, and even bribed to treat him in that baſe and unworthy manner; and he had even ſeveral doſes of poiſon mixed with his food; but his patience or fortitude of ſpirit, and the natural ſtrength of his conſtitution, baffled all their cruel attempts to deprive him of his life.

The biſhop of Hereford, who is ſaid to have been the contriver of all theſe ſpecies of torture and mortification; finding that this method did not ſucceed, and apprehenſive of being brought to condign puniſhment, ſhould young Edward be informed of the cruel treatment of his father, reſolved to prevent ſuch a diſcovery by the immediate murder of the old king; and accordingly

ingly ſent a commiſſion to his two keepers, to execute the horrid deed.

This order was conceived in ſuch artful and ambiguous terms, that, though he knew the perſons to whom it was directed would take it in the moſt obvious and literal ſenſe, it yet furniſhed him with an opportunity of denying the fact, and vindicating himſelf in caſe of neceſſity.

The ſtratagem ſucceeded: Gurnay and Mautravers had no ſooner received the biſhop's letter than they entered the king's apartment while he lay aſleep, and ordering about fourteen ruffians who attended them, to hold him faſt down to the bed with a huge table, they thruſt into his fundament a red-hot iron, which they inſerted through a horn; and though this expedient prevented the outward marks of violence upon his perſon, the barbarous deed was diſcovered to all the guards, and even to perſons at a great diſtance from the caſtle, by the piercing ſhrieks and ſcreams which the agonizing king threw out, while his bowels were conſuming within him.

The aſſaſſins, willing to avoid ſuſpicion, and depending upon the precautions they had taken, expoſed the body to the inſpection of the public: it was viewed by the prior of Briſtol, the abbot of Glou-

ceſter, and by ſeveral perſons of quality and credit; no wound or blemiſh appeared upon the ſkin; but the muſcles of his face were ſo diſtorted as plainly to ſhew the exquiſite tortures he had ſuffered. Nevertheleſs the body was interred, without farther enquiry, in the abbey of St. Peter in Glouceſter; and the regicides, inſtead of procuring the rewards they expected, were obliged to conſult their ſafety by flying the kingdom.*

Thus periſhed, in the forty-third year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign, Edward II. king of England, a prince, who was certainly more weak than wicked, and who fully attoned for all the errors of his conduct, by the length and ſeverity of his ſufferings. He reſembled his father in the lineaments of his face, as well as in the elegance and regularity of his

* Gurnay was afterwards ſeized at Burgos, delivered to the ſeneſchal of Guienne, and put on board a ſhip in order to be tranſported to England; but he was beheaded at ſea, in conſequence of ſecret inſtructions from ſome lords and prelates in England, who were afraid of his diſcovering the perſons who prompted him to commit ſuch a diabolical action. Mautravers concealed himſelf for about ſixteen years in Germany, but having found means to perform ſome ſignal ſervice to Edward III. he ventured to approach his perſon, threw himſelf on his knees before him, ſubmitted to his mercy, and obtained a pardon.

The Monument of K. Edward & his Brother Richard in Westminster Abby.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

L. Hulett sc.

his figure, and followed his example by a ſtrict obſervance of conjugal fidelity, to which he met with a very ungrateful return; but he was utterly deſtitute of all thoſe great and noble qualities which rendered the other the moſt accompliſhed hero of the age. He had no judgment, ſagacity, or penetration; no ſtrength or fortitude of mind, nor the leaſt genius for politics or government.

Of weak and narrow intellects, he had not diſcernment to chuſe a friend; of a lazy and indolent diſpoſition, he pitched upon the firſt that fortune threw in his way; and of ſtrong and violent paſſions, when once he had fixed his choice, he could never be perſuaded to withdraw his attachment; but the more odious his favourite became, he clung to him with the greater warmth of affection; nor could any faults or errors committed by his minions, any complaints or remonſtrances preferred by his ſubjects, or any miſeries or calamities in which himſelf was involved, induce him to alter his meaſures, till, at length, the ſpirit of a free people, aroused by the ſenſe of their own injuries, and ſtill farther inflamed by the arts and intrigues of a diſloyal and abandoned woman, was raiſed to ſuch a degree of fury and madneſs, that, over-bearing all the

mounds of juſtice, of equity, and of ſound policy, it buried the king, his miniſter, and all their adherents in one common and undiſtinguiſhed ruin.*

EDWARD III. ſurnamed of WINDSOR. A.D. 1327.

THE depoſition of the late king, and the elevation of the young prince, were not immediately attended with all thoſe advantages, which the people were encouraged to expect. If they ſaw themſelves delivered from the troubles that diſturbed the former reign, they ſoon found they

* Edward II. had, by his conſort Iſabel of France, two ſons, and as many daughters, viz. Edward, who ſucceeded him on the throne; John, commonly called John de Eltham, on account of his being born at a place of that name in Kent, and who died at Perth in the eighteenth year of his age: Jane, married to David Bruce, king of Scotland; and Eleanor, matched with Reginald, duke of Gueldres.

Among his other pious foundations and benefactions, he endowed the Dominican convent at Langley in Hertfordſhire, with five hundred marks a year, to pray for the ſoul of Piers Gaveſton; and he founded Oriel College, and St. Mary Hall, in Oxford. *Annal. Croke ſden. in Bibl. Cotton. Annal. Trokelowe, Trivet. contin. Cod. Norf. in offic. armor. n.* 48. *M. Weſt. contin. Walſin.*

EDWARD III.

Engravid for Rider's History of England.

BRITISH
MUSEUM

they had fallen into a ſtate equally uncomfortable and perplexing. The government of a weak and imprudent king was not more to be dreaded than that of a minor prince under the direction of a paſſionate and headſtrong mother, and a young unexperienced miniſter, more preſumptuous and leſs able than the d'Eſpenſers.

Happily for the nation, Edward's minority was of no long continuance. As ſoon as he had undertaken the management of public affairs, he converted the misfortunes of the late reign into ſo many bleſſings, and improved the injuries received from France and Scotland into glory and triumph: a ſtriking proof of that old obſervation, that the proſperity of a ſtate depends leſs on its own ſtrength and riches, than on the prudence and ſpirit of him that ſits at the helm; and this maxim we ſhall ſee ſtrongly exemplified in the courſe of the preſent reign, which is juſtly conſidered as one of the moſt illuſtrious in the Engliſh hiſtory.

Though Edward, at the time of his acceſſion, was only in his ſixteenth year, he was yet poſſeſſed of a ſolid judgment and a quick penetration; nevertheleſs, in compliance with the laws of the land, the young king muſt neceſſarily have governeurs, and the ſtate of courſe muſt have regents. Accordingly,

ingly, the parliament appointed a council consisting of five bishops, three earls, and four barons,* to direct the affairs of the realm, and the guardianship of Edward was committed to the care of the earl of Lancaster, who was restored to the dignity of high steward of England.

This measure met with no opposition from the queen and Mortimer, the former of whom had engrossed into her own hands the whole executive power, and the latter, who had an entire influence over his mistress, acted as prime minister. The sentences formerly denounced against that nobleman were now reversed, on pretence of the illegality of his trial; and he recovered the possession of all his lands and honours, to which were likewise joined the estates of the earls of Arundel and Winton in North-Wales.

Edmund, earl of Kent, was gratified with lands and castles of such a value as to make

* The prelates were, Walter Reginald archbishop of Canterbury, William Melton archbishop of York, John Stratford bishop of Winchester, Thomas Cobham bishop of Worcester, and Adam Orleton bishop of Hereford: the earls were, Thomas de Brotherton earl of Norfolk and mareschal, Edmund of Woodstock earl of Kent, and John de Warenne earl of Surrey; and the barons were, Thomas lord Wake, Henry lord Piercy, Oliger Ingham, and John lord Ross. *Leland.*

make his eſtate amount to ſeven thouſand marks a year, according to the intention of Edward I. his father: John de Hainault received a penſion of one thouſand marks, payable out of the cuſtoms on wool and leather in the port of London; and the queen obtained a grant of twenty thouſand pounds to pay her debts, and the ſame ſum, as a yearly jointure, together with all the treaſure of the two d'Eſpenſers, the earl of Arundel, and Robert de Baldock the chancellor.

As the citizens of London had been very active in effecting the late revolution, they were not only indulged with a pardon for all the robberies, burglaries, murders, and other felonies, of which they had been guilty ſince the day of the queen's landing, but were likewiſe rewarded for their ſervices, with a charter confirmed in parliament, exempting them from all pryſes without the conſent of the owner, or the payment of ready money, from eyres of juſtices ſitting in the Tower, from all talliages, and from the ſeizure of their liberties for the perſonal tranſgreſſions of their magiſtrates or officers, who alone were to be accountable for their own miſdemeanours.

They obtained a grant of the borough of Southwark, and of all the goods of felons adjudged

adjudged within the liberties of the city; they were gratified with the privilege of being aſſeſſed in all impoſition of taxes in common with the freeholders of counties; they were freed from all obligation to ſerve without the walls of the city; and their mayor was to act as one of the juſtices, in every commiſſion for the gaol-delivery of Newgate.

In a few days after the coronation, all the French ſubjects, who had been ſeized in England, were ſet at liberty, and all their effects reſtored; and as Charles the Fair ſeems to have begun the war merely with a view to promote the deſigns of his ſiſter Iſabel, that end being now fully attained, hoſtilities ceaſed in Guienne, and a treaty of peace was concluded between the two nations, without any difficulty.

The Scots, who had no concern either with Iſabel or Edward, reſolved to embrace ſuch a favourable opportunity of making an incurſion into England, notwithſtanding the truce which ſtill ſubſiſted between the two nations. Accordingly they paſſed the borders, and endeavoured to ſurprize the caſtle of Norham; but in this attempt they were happily diſappointed by the vigilance of Sir Roger Mannours, the governour, who being previouſly acquainted with their deſign, allowed about twenty

of

of the aſſailants to mount the walls, who were immediately killed or made priſoners; and the reſt were ſo intimidated with this diſaſter, that they betook themſelves to a precipitate flight.

The council were no ſooner informed of theſe hoſtilities, than they diſpatched ambaſſadours to Bruce, to remonſtrate againſt ſuch an unprovoked violation of the truce, and make propoſals for a final accommodation. That warlike prince, tho' now advanced in years, and in a bad ſtate of health, was little inclined to liſten to any ſuggeſtions of that nature. He was ſo far from complying with the requeſt of the deputies, that he even ſent a ſolemn defiance to the court of England, threatening the country with an immediate invaſion, unleſs Edward would conſent to acknowledge his claim to the crown of Scotland, and grant the other conceſſions which he had demanded from the late king.

Though the miniſtry refuſed to agree to theſe terms, they yet propoſed a conference on the ſubject, and appointed commiſſioners to meet the Scottiſh deputies on the marches, in order to adjuſt the articles of a ſolid peace. Bruce aſſented to the propoſal; but, at the ſame time, reſolved to make an incurſion into England; and

Thomas

Thomas Randolf earl of Murray, and the lord Douglas, began to collect their forces for that purpose.

To secure the country from the threatened invasion, the military tenants of the crown were required to assemble at Newcastle on the eighteenth day of May; the fleet of the Cinque-Ports was ordered to sail to Skymberness at the mouth of the Tees. Commissions were issued for arraying men in London, and in all the other cities and towns of the kingdom, as well as for raising the posse of Yorkshire; and the chief command of the army was bestowed upon the earls of Kent and Lancaster.

It is hard to say, whether the young king was more pleased or provoked at the hostile invasion with which his dominions were threatened. Provoked, he certainly was, inasmuch as the enemy had no fresh cause of complaint to alledge in vindication of their conduct; and yet he was, in some measure, pleased with the approaching rupture, as he hoped it would give him an opportunity of displaying that martial spirit, which already began to warm his youthful breast, and afterwards rendered him the most illustrious hero of the age.

He immediately dispatched John de Hainault to the Continent to enlist a body of foreign troops; and that nobleman joined him

him at York, in the month of May, with a party of two thouſand horſemen, well accoutred and furniſhed with every thing neceſſary for making a campaign.

Edward placed his chief hopes of ſucceſs upon the aſſiſtance of theſe mercenaries, as they were much better diſciplined than his own ſubjects, who, during the inactivity of the late reign, had been little accuſtomed to arms.

But what he conſidered as the means of his ſafety, had like to have proved the cauſe of his ruin. He and his mother careſſed theſe ſtrangers in ſuch a manner as excited the jealouſy and envy of the Engliſh; and ſome of them behaved with ſo much arrogance and preſumption, that a quarrel enſued between the two nations; the Engliſh archers and the Hainaulters attacked each other with great fury, and many were killed on both ſides.

The foreigners, enraged at the loſs they had ſuſtained in this ſkirmiſh, ſallied out from their quarters on the following night, and put to the ſword about three hundred of the archers belonging to the counties of Lincoln and Northampton; and the Engliſh, provoked in their turn at this inſtance of cruelty and baſeneſs, aſſembled next morning to the number of ſix thouſand men, with

a fixt reſolution to take vengeance on the enemy for the ſlaughter of their countrymen.

Happily, however, they were diverted from this cruel purpoſe by the remonſtraces of the king, who ordered the archers to change their quarters, and appointed guards for the ſecurity of the ſtrangers; but theſe laſt were ſo much afraid of the reſentment of the Engliſh, that they were always obliged to lie upon their arms, and to have their horſes ready ſaddled during their abode in the iſland.

Edward, having ſtaid about three weeks at York, advanced to Durham, where he was joined by all his forces, and received information that the Scots, to the number of twenty-five thouſand, had croſſed the Tyne, and waſted the eaſtern parts of that country. He determined, if poſſible, to cut off their retreat into their own country, and with this view divided his army, conſiſting of ſixty-thouſand men, into three bodies, beſides a van-guard of four thouſand horſe, which were ordered to clear the way, and retard the march of the enemy by ſlight ſkirmiſhes, until the whole army ſhould come up and bring them to a general engagement.

He ſet out in the middle of July in purſuit of the Scottiſh army, which he imagined to be ſomewhere between Durham and

and Carliſle; but after his troops had been haraſſed and fatigued by marching for two whole days through mountains, woods and moraſſes, he could obſerve no other marks of the enemy's motions, but the ſmoaking ruins of towns and villages which they had ſet on fire.

He then directed his march towards the Tyne, leaving behind him all his carriages, tents and proviſions, that the troops might proceed with the greater expedition; at length, he reached the place where the Scots had croſſed the river; and as it was probable they would return the ſame way, he took poſſeſſion of the ground on the northern ſide of the Tyne, where he remained for five or ſix days, greatly diſtreſſed for want of cover and ſubſiſtence.

The Scots were no ſooner apprized of Edward's approach, than they called in their foraging parties, and poſted themſelves in an advantageous ſituation, where they reſolved to continue, until they ſhould be more fully informed of his numbers and intention.

In the mean time, the king repaſſed the river, and cauſed proclamation to be made, that whoever ſhould bring him an account of the place where the Scots were encamped, ſhould receive the honour of knighthood, and lands to the value of one hun-

dred pounds a year, as a reward for his ſervice.

On the third day after this declaration, Thomas de Rokeſby brought him the agreeable news that the Scots were at the diſtance of three miles, encamped on the declivity of a high hill beyond the river Were, which waſhed the foot of the mountain. Thomas, in order to ſurvey the poſition of the enemy with the greater accuracy, had advanced ſo near that he was taken priſoner; but acknowledging the motive that prompted him to go thither, the Scottiſh generals diſmiſſed him without any ranſom, and ordered him to acquaint Edward, that they were as deſirous of a battle as his majeſty.

The king, cauſing his troops to take ſome refreſhment, immediately advanced againſt the enemy, whom he found already drawn up in three bodies, on the declivity of the mountain; but the Were, which ran between the two armies, was ſo full of large and ſlippery ſtones, and the water was ſwelled to ſuch a heighth by the late rains, that the Engliſh could not paſs without the moſt imminent danger; and the Scots had no intention to come to the northern bank.

Edward, eager to engage the enemy, ſent a herald to acquaint them, that, if they

they really meant to venture a battle, he would retire at a diſtance, and ſuffer them to croſs the Were without moleſtation; or, if they would grant him the ſame favour, he himſelf would paſs the river, and try the fortune of arms with them in the open field. The bold ſpirit of Douglas could ill brook ſuch a bravado, and he propoſed that the challenge ſhould be inſtantly accepted; but he was over-ruled by Murray, who replied to Edward, that he never took the advice of an enemy in any of his operations.

In this ſituation both armies continued for three days ſucceſſively, without either of them daring to attempt a paſſage; and the king, who was poſſeſſed of the north ſide of the river, hoped he ſhould be able to reduce them by famine, as he was credibly informed that all their ſalt and oatmeal was exhauſted, and that they had no bread for ſubſiſtence.

Nor would he have been diſappointed in his expectation, had not the enemy retired at midnight, and advanced ſome miles higher up the river, where they encamped on the brow of another hill, flanked by a wood, near Stanhope-park, in the biſhopric of Durham. As ſoon as the Engliſh were informed of their retreat, they immediately followed them, ſtill keeping on the north

ſide of the river, and poſted themſelves on another mountain, oppoſite to that which the Scots poſſeſſed.

While they lay in this poſition, the lord Douglas paſſed the river with a party of two hundred horſe, and, entering the Engliſh camp in the night, advanced as far as the royal tent, with a deſign, as was ſuppoſed, to ſeize and carry off the king; but ſome of his attendants awaking in that critical moment, made a ſtout reſiſtance; his chaplain and chamberlain ſacrificed their lives for his ſafety; the king himſelf, after being in the moſt imminent danger, eſcaped in the dark; and Douglas, being over-powered with numbers, and having loſt the beſt part of his followers, was glad to retreat with the few that remained.

At laſt the Scots were ſo much diſtreſſed for want of proviſion, that they reſolved to return to their own country at all events; and an accident contributed greatly to facilitate their retreat. A certain knight of their army being taken priſoner, and examined before Edward and the Engliſh council, acknowledged the miſerable plight in which the Scots were, and that they had received orders to be ready armed at night, to march under the banners of lord Douglas. The Engliſh imagining, from the bold and intrepid

intrepid ſpirit of that leader, that he intended to aſſault their camp in the dark, as he had lately done, reſolved to guard againſt the expected danger; and with that view the army was ranged in battle-array, and ſtood all night under arms. It was divided into three bodies, one oppoſed directly to the Scots, and the other two facing to the right and left, in order to give them a warm reception, from whatever quarter they ſhould dare to make the attack.

Mean while the enemy retiring in the dead of night, under covert of the neighbouring wood, and paſſing a large moraſs upon hurdles, continued their march towards Carliſle, with ſuch diſpatch that they had advanced a conſiderable way before morning, when the ſcouts brought advice of their departure; and next day reached their own country, with all the plunder they had taken in the expedition.

Edward was greatly chagrined, to be thus baffled in his firſt campaign; but as he knew it to be in vain to purſue an enemy who were ſo well acquainted with all the paſſes and defiles of the country, and were all mounted on horſeback, he marched back to Durham, and from thence to York, where he diſbanded the greateſt part of his forces.

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He had no ſooner returned from this expedition, than he received the news of his father's death, with which he ſeemed to be deeply affected. A parliament had been ſummoned at Lincoln, on the fifteenth day of September, in order to obtain a ſupply for proſecuting the Scottiſh war, in caſe the negociation ſhould prove abortive, as well as to defray the expence of the king's marriage with Philippa, daughter of William III. count of Holland and Hainault; for which a diſpenſation had been procured from the pope, as the parties were related in the third degree of conſanguinity.

As the prelates made ſome difficulty in granting the demanded aid, the ſeſſion was finiſhed without tranſacting any buſineſs of importance; and another parliament was aſſembled at Leiceſter on the third of November, when the clergy gave a tenth of their revenues, the barons and knights a twentieth of their rents, and the cities and boroughs a fifteenth of their moveables.

A procuration was granted to the biſhop of Litchfield, to make a contract with Philippa in verbis de preſenti; and ſhe was eſcorted into England by her uncle, John de Hainault, with a numerous train of attendants. As ſhe approached London, on

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the twenty-third of December, she was met by the mayor and aldermen in their robes, who made her a present of plate to the value of three hundred pounds; and she was received into the city with a solemn procession of the clergy.

On the twenty-seventh day of the same month she set out for York, where the court was then kept, and where the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and splendor, on the twenty-fourth day of January;* though the ceremony of her coronation was not performed till about two years after.

In the mean time, the English and Scottish deputies began their conferences at Newcastle; and as both parties were favourably disposed for a peace, the articles were adjusted with equal ease and expedition. Mortimer, who engrossed the sole direction of public affairs, and had appointed his own partizans as commissioners on this occasion, was extremely desirous of securing the friendship of Scotland, where he might find a place of refuge, in case he should be attacked like Gaveston and the d'Espensers; an event he had great reason to apprehend from that public odium which his insolence and avarice had already drawn upon him.

On

* A. D. 1328.

On the other hand, Robert de Brus, who was now worn out with years and infirmities, was very ſolicitous to leave his young ſon, who was only in the eighth year of his age, in peace and harmony with all his neighbours.

Beſides, the lords Piercy, Wake, and Beaumont, who were in the number of the commiſſioners, found their private advantage in effecting an accommodation, by which they would recover their eſtates in Scotland which had been forfeited during the courſe of the war.

In theſe circumſtances a treaty was concluded, upon ſuch terms as Bruce, at any other juncture, could never have obtained after a long run of victory and ſucceſs.

It was agreed, that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould remain for ever divided from England, by the ſame Marches that ſeparated the two kingdoms in the time of Alexander III. That Edward ſhould, for himſelf, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, releaſe Robert de Brus from all obligations, conventions, and agreements made with any of his predeceſſors, touching the ſubjection of that realm; and declare all charters, deeds, and inſtruments relating to that ſubject, null and of no effect: that Robert de Brus ſhould be acknowledged as the lawful ſove-

ſovereign of that kingdom, free and independent; and that Edward's eldeſt ſiſter Jane, ſhould be married to David prince of Scotland: that Robert ſhould pay thirty thouſand marks, to indemnify the Engliſh for the loſs they had ſuſtained in the laſt invaſion of the Scots: that the ſubjects of both princes, as well clergy as laity, ſhould recover the poſſeſſion of ſuch lands and benefices as belonged to them in either kingdom: that Edward ſhould uſe his intereſt with the pope, to remove the ſentence of excommunication and interdict formerly denounced againſt the king and kingdom of Scotland; and that he ſhould reſtore to Robert all the regalia and records of his realm, which had been carried away by Edward I. together with the original roll of homage, by which John Baliol, and the freeholders of Scotland, had recognized the ſuperiority of the Engliſh monarch.

It was impoſſible long to conceal theſe articles from the public; and they were no no ſooner known, than they occaſioned a general clamour over the whole kingdom.

The people inveighed bitterly againſt the commiſſioners who had thus betrayed the honour and intereſt of their country, in tamely reſigning a claim for the ſupport of which ſo much blood and treaſure had been

been exhausted; and in agreeing to a marriage between a princess of England, and the son of a man who had been treated as a rebel to her father, and a traitor to her grandfather.

Many of the prelates and nobility refused to appear in the parliament at York, because they were afraid of opposing the measures of Isabel and Mortimer, whose power was formidable; and they scorned to ratify or approve such an infamous and shameful treaty.

But, notwithstanding these symptoms of discontent and dissatisfaction, Edward, on the first day of March, gave a commission to Henry de Piercy, and William de Souche, to swear in his name to the observance of the articles; and it is expressly said, in the instrument by which he resigned his superiority over Scotland, that it was executed with the consent of the prelates, lords, and commons, assembled in parliament.

This affair was no sooner settled, than Edward wrote to the pope, intreating him to remove the censures which had been issued against Robert and his kingdom; in the beginning of July, the princess Jane was sent under the care of her mother to Berwick, where she was betrothed to David de Brus, and from thence conducted into Scotland; and the roll of homage, and all the

the public records which Edward I. had brought out of that kingdom, were delivered to the Scottiſh deputies, according to the inventory which had been taken when they were firſt lodged in the Exchequer at London, and a copy of which is ſtill preſerved in that place.

It is not to be ſuppoſed that Edward, whoſe courage and ambition exceeded his years, would have agreed to this diſhonourable treaty, had not his mother and Mortimer found means to turn his attention to objects of another and more important nature, and ſuch as flattered him with the hopes of greater glory and advantage.

This was no leſs than the proſpect of aſcending the throne of France, his claim to which they grounded upon a very plauſible, but, in truth, a very weak foundation. Charles the Fair, king of France, dying about this period without male iſſue, the queen and Mortimer perſuaded Edward that the crown of that kingdom ought to deſcend to him, in right of his mother Iſabel, ſiſter to the late king; and he inſtantly determined to aſſert his title to that monarchy.

But as the queen of France was pregnant at the time of her huſband's death, he could not demand the crown until it ſhould be ſeen whether ſhe would be delivered of a

ſon or a daughter. Nevertheleſs, he wrote to the nobility and communities of Guienne, Languedoc, and Navarre, ſignifying his deſign of recovering the rights and inheritance of his mother, and expreſſing his hopes that they would aſſiſt him in ſuch a juſt and laudable endeavour.

He gave a procuration to the biſhops of Worceſter and Lincoln, to maintain and proſecute his right to the crown of France, by ſuch ways and methods as they ſhould think proper; and ſent ambaſſadors to make a league with the duke of Brabant, and the towns and cities in Flanders, which were then engaged in a war with Philip de Valois, whom the French had firſt appointed regent of the kingdom, and afterwards placed on the throne, when the widow of Charles the Fair was brought to bed of a daughter.

Philip was unqueſtionably the true heir to the crown of France, as ſon of Charles count de Valois, brother to the late king. Edward, it is true, was more nearly related to that prince by one degree of conſanguinity; but then he was excluded by the Salic law, which declared all females, and all the deſcendants of females, incapable of ſucceeding to the French crown, and which had always been obſerved in that kingdom, from time immemorial; and his allegation

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that the law, though in full force with regard to his mother, who was a female, was yet void with reſpect to himſelf, who was a male, contained a glaring contradiction; for if his mother was poſſeſſed of no right in her own perſon, how could ſhe poſſibly tranſmit it to her ſon?

Blinded, however, by his own ambition, and by the artful inſinuations of Iſabel and Mortimer, he reſolved to ſupport his pretenſions to the crown of France, and accordingly aſſembled a great council of the nation at York, on the thirty-firſt day of July, as well to explain his title and intentions, as to procure a confirmation of the late treaty with Scotland.

Mortimer, by his haughty and arrogant behaviour, had now increaſed the public odium againſt him to ſuch a degree, that the prelates and nobility were ſure to reject any meaſure which he propoſed; and the aſſembly broke up without tranſacting any buſineſs.

A parliament was therefore ſummoned to meet at Saliſbury, on the ſixteenth day of October; and though the members were prohibited, by particular writs under the great ſeal, from coming to the houſe with force or arms, Mortimer had the inſolence to diſregard the prohibition, and repair thither with a ſtrong body of armed followers.

The earl of Lancaſter, and ſeveral other peers, being made acquainted with this circumſtance by the way, began to ſuſpect the deſigns of that wicked miniſter, and accordingly proceeded no farther than Wincheſter; and, indeed, it ſoon appeared that their ſuſpicions were but too well founded; for, while the members of parliament were aſſembled in the houſe, and deliberating upon the affairs of the nation, Mortimer, with a party of armed men, broke open the doors, and threatened them with inſtant death, ſhould they dare to ſpeak or act any thing contrary to his pleaſure.

Alike terrified and enraged at this inſult, they immediately withdrew, without coming to any reſolution; and the noblemen at Wincheſter returned to their own caſtles, at once to avoid the violence, and concert meaſures for humbling the pride of this inſolent tyrant, who had even importuned the king to march againſt them in a hoſtile manner.

Such was the concluſion of this parliament, in which the earldom of Cornwall was beſtowed upon John de Eltham, the king's brother; that of Marche, upon Roger de Mortimer; and that of Ormonde, upon James le Bútiller, of the kingdom of Ireland.

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Notwithstanding the wise precautions which had been taken, at the king's accession to the throne, by appointing a council of twelve persons to advise and assist him in all his measures, and committing the care of his person to the earl of Lancaster, Mortimer usurped the government into his own hands, in consequence of his interest with the queen-mother and her son, and managed the affairs of the nation by his sole authority.

He bestowed all offices of trust and profit upon his own dependents, and squandered away his master's money in gratifying his own vanity, which was equal to that of Gaveston. He affected the pomp and parade of tournaments, like that unhappy favourite; entertained the king, on occasion of the marriage of his two daughters to the sons of the earl Mareschal and the lord Hastings, with a more than royal splendor; and held a round table at Bedford, thinking, by that ostentation of grandeur, to rival the glory of the renowned king Arthur.

Nor was his insolence inferior to his vanity; he treated his superiors, and equals, with the most supercilious contempt; he persecuted all those who presumed to find fault with his conduct, or to thwart his measures; he allowed none but his own

friends and adherents to approach his majesty's person; he hindered the earl of Lancaster himself, as well as the members of the privy-council, from talking to him on the affairs of the public; and the title of earl of Marche, with which he had lately been honoured, inflamed his pride to such a degree, that he was even suspected of raising his ambitious views to the throne itself.

The earl of Lancaster, and several other barons, were highly incensed at the arrogance of this insolent upstart; they had long complained of the exorbitant power which he had usurped in such an illegal manner, and exercised with so much tyranny and despotism; and now seeing the freedom of parliaments destroyed by his late behaviour at Salisbury, they began to concert a plan for obtaining a redress of their grievances.

With this view they held several private meetings, and engaged in an association for their mutual defence. They were soon after joined by the new archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Mepham, the bishops of London and Winchester, the earls of Norfolk and Kent, the lords Wake and Audely, and many other barons of great interest and distinction. They had frequent conferences at London, in order to consider of

of the ſtate of the realm, and agree upon the articles of an impeachment againſt Mortimer.

They reſolved to charge him with the murder of the late king, and the embezzlement of his treaſure; with the diſſipation of the preſent king's revenue; a treaſonable correſpondence with the Scots at Stanhope-park, in conſequence of which, they had effected their retreat with ſo little loſs in their laſt invaſion of England; with giving up the ſovereignty of Scotland, and reſtoring the roll of homage, ſubſcribed by the barons and freeholders of that kingdom. They propoſed to demand a reſumption of the forfeited eſtates that had been beſtowed upon him, and of the lands, caſtles, and honours that had been granted to the queen-mother, to the great diminution of the king's revenue, which was hardly ſufficient to ſupport his houſhold in its uſual ſplendour.

This point being ſettled, they held a general meeting at St. Paul's, where they entered into an aſſociation to procure certain ordinances for the good of the kingdom; and ſent the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of London, and the king's two uncles, the earls of Kent and Mareſchal, as their deputies, to wait upon his majeſty, and obtain, if poſſible, his aſſent

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to their propoſal.* But theſe two noblemen were detached from the party of the barons, by the addreſs of the queen-mother and her minion; and the two prelates endeavoured to make a peace on the beſt terms they could procure for their confederates.

Mean while, Mortimer being apprized of the intentions of the barons, reſolved to get the ſtart of them in wreaking his vengeance. With this view he raiſed an army, ſeized Leiceſter, plundered the goods, and waſted the lands of the earl of Lancaſter; and that nobleman collected his forces, with which he advanced as far as Bedford againſt the aggreſſor.

Notwithſtanding the deſertion of the king's uncles, the court was ſtill apprehenſive, that the commons might riſe in favour of Lancaſter, who was extremely popular in all parts of the kingdom, and particularly in the city of London, the inhabitants of which had already eſpouſed his cauſe.

It was, therefore, judged moſt expedient to compromiſe the difference in an amicable manner; and accordingly, after ſome diſputes, it was agreed that all grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and all abuſes in the government reformed in the next parliament,

* A. D. 1329.

ment, which, however, the king found a plauſible pretext to poſtpone.

He had been ſummoned by Philip de Valois to come over to the Continent, and do homage for the territories he held of the crown of France, and as he was unwilling to acknowledge his dependence upon a prince, whoſe rival he was for the throne of that kingdom, he ſent over ambaſſadors to excuſe his non-attendance, or, at leaſt, to procure a delay; but Philip threatening to confiſcate his lands, if he did not immediately obey the ſummons, he ſailed from Dover on the twenty-ſixth day of May, and did homage to the French king at Amiens.

Nevertheleſs, he took care, before his departure, to enter a ſolemn proteſt in his own council, that this act was merely the effect of compulſion, that he performed this ceremony, only for fear of loſing his foreign dominions, and, in order to prevent the other calamities with which his refuſal might be attended; but that he did not mean, by this ſubmiſſion, to relinquiſh his right to the crown of France, or derogate from his claim, even though he ſhould be forced to ſign an inſtrument for that purpoſe.

Poſſeſſed, as Edward was, with a thorough conviction of his own right to that crown,

crown, and determined to embrace the firſt favourable opportunity of aſſerting it by force of arms, he yet behaved to Philip with the greateſt complaiſance, and with all the marks of the moſt cordial friendſhip; and Philip, in his turn, treated him with equal politeneſs and magnificence.

They were already connected by the ties of conſanguinity; Philip being firſt couſin to the mother, and uncle to the queen of Edward; and this alliance they propoſed to ſtrengthen by new affinities; a match was projected between John the eldeſt ſon of Philip, and Edward's ſiſter Eleanora, as alſo between John of Eltham, brother to the latter, and Maria daughter to the former; a formal treaty was begun for this purpoſe; but it never took effect.

In theſe friendly diſpoſitions, Edward ſet out on his return for England, where he arrived on the eleventh of June, about two days after the deceaſe of Robert de Brus, who died of a leproſy, after having governed the kingdom of Scotland for the ſpace of twenty years, with equal glory and wiſdom.

Mortimer, having weathered the ſtorm that threatened him from the earl of Lancaſter, and the other confederate barons, imagined he had no further oppoſition to dread,

dread, therefore took no care to obſerve the terms of the accommodation.

Prompted by the baſe diſpoſition of his own heart, and conſcious of the unpopularity of his character, he never endeavoured to gain the affections of men by favours and good offices; but always attempted to force them into his meaſures by the fear of puniſhment.

He exacted bonds from the earl of Lancaſter and his adherents, for the payment of thoſe exorbitant ſums which had been impoſed upon them by way of ranſom; and all this money he appropriated to his own uſe, in order to ſupply the demands of his prodigality.

The whole nation now bowed before him; not one of the barons daring to diſpute his will, except the earl of Kent, whom, on that account, he reſolved to remove out of the way, and laid a wicked, tho' ſucceſsful, ſnare for effecting his ruin.

By means of his agents and emiſſaries, he ſpread a report all over the kingdom, that Edward II. was ſtill alive in Corfe-caſtle, though viſible only by night, and even then to no perſon without a particular licence. As he well knew that the earl of Kent had always entertained a moſt cordial affection for that unhappy brother, and lamented his depoſition and death,

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with the moſt unfeigned ſorrow, he hoped that he would exert himſelf in favour of the diſtreſſed ſovereign, could he once be perſuaded that Edward was really alive.

Nor was he diſappointed in his expectation: Kent had no ſooner heard the ſtory, which was now become the general topic of converſation, than he began to enquire into the foundation of the rumour. He examined Sir John Mautravers, who had been concerned in the murder of the late king, and Sir John Deverel, governour of Corſe-caſtle; and they having received private inſtructions from Mortimer, confirmed the truth of the report, inſinuating, at the ſame time, that they let him into the ſecret merely through confidence and friendſhip.

The ſtory had now prevailed for ſuch a length of time, that it was firmly believed by many other perſons of the firſt diſtinction, all of whom expreſſed their deſire of ſeeing the unfortunate monarch delivered from priſon, and replaced upon the throne.

The earl of Kent, having no longer any doubt of the truth of the report, wrote a letter to his brother, aſſuring him, that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours in order to procure his liberty; and that the principal noblemen of the kingdom were

deter-

determined to exert their power and influence in reſtoring him to that dignity of which he had been ſo unjuſtly deprived.

Deverel promiſed to deliver this letter to Edward II. but put it into the hands of Mortimer, who forthwith reſolved to employ it as the means of accompliſhing the earl's deſtruction.

A parliament was convoked at Wincheſter on the eleventh day of March; but as the freedom of theſe aſſemblies was entirely deſtroyed by the arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings of Mortimer, few or none attended at this meeting, except his own creatures and adherents, ſo that he was the better able to execute his cruel and deteſtable purpoſe. He communicated Kent's letter to the king, with ſuch invidious reflexions of his own, as induced Edward to write to that nobleman, requiring his attendance for ſome particular reaſons; and he had no ſooner arrived at Wincheſter, than he was taken into cuſtody.*

Some of Mortimer's creatures were ſent to examine him in perſon; and they returned falſe reports, and forged confeſſions, in order to incenſe Edward againſt his uncle. His letter to Edward II. be-

* A. D. 1330.

ing produced and read in parliament, he was found guilty of high-treaſon, and condemned to loſe his head.

Mortimer, apprehending that the king's affection for his uncle might induce him to grant a pardon to the earl, or, at leaſt, to indulge him with a reprieve, reſolved to give him no time for thinking on the ſubject. He prevailed upon the queen-mother to amuſe her ſon with affairs of another nature, and extorted a warrant from his majeſty, directed to the bailiffs of Wincheſter, commanding them to carry the ſentence into immediate execution.

Accordingly, on the nineteenth day of March, the earl was brought upon the ſcaffold about noon; but he was ſo univerſally beloved, that the common executioner refuſed to perform his office, nor could any one be found to ſupply his place, till towards the evening, when the ſentence was executed by a felon from the Marſhalſea, who, as a reward for his ſervice, received a free pardon for the crimes he had committed.

The king was deeply afflicted when he heard of his uncle's death, and ordered his body to be decently interred in the Dominican convent at Wincheſter; and as that nobleman was extremely popular, the

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news of his unworthy fate, occaſioned a general clamour through the whole nation.

Mortimer, who was conſidered as the author of his death, endeavoured to apologize for this violent meaſure, by trumping up a report of a pretended conſpiracy, which he had the impudence to aſſert the earl had formed, and which was to have been ſupported by a body of foreigners.

To render this ſtory the more probable, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of London, the abbot of Langedon, W. lord Zouche, Fulk Fitzwarin, and ſeveral others were proſecuted for treaſonable deſigns, though all their guilt amounted to no more than their having expreſſed their ſatisfaction at the news of the late king's being alive, and their hopes of ſeeing him delivered from priſon, and reſtored to his throne: the earl of Lancaſter was arreſted on ſuſpicion: ſeveral Dominican and Carmelite friars were baniſhed; and proclamations were publiſhed in every county, enjoining the ſheriffs to take into cuſtody all thoſe who ſhould ſay that Edward II. was ſtill alive.

If, by theſe violent and arbitrary proceedings, Mortimer only intended to gain credit to the lie he had invented, he failed

in his purpose; for all the world were fully satisfied that the report of the conspiracy was entirely groundless; but, if he likewise meant to intimidate his adversaries, and gratify his avarice with the forfeited estates, he obtained his end in these particulars; for none of the barons would venture to oppose his measures, at least for some time; though the hatred they bore him was greatly inflamed by this fresh outrage, and, at last, breaking forth with redoubled fury, overwhelmed him with destruction.

Mean while, he procured the best part of Kent's estate for his third son Geoffry, and, in failure of issue of his body, for himself and his heirs for ever. He obtained farther grants of lands which had belonged to the d'Espensers in Wales, where he wanted to increase the number of his dependents: he held frequent tournaments and round tables in that country, and upon the marches, in order to captivate the natives with the splendour of his entertainments: he was always attended with a prodigious train of followers; and in his whole behaviour discovered such vanity and ostentation, that his own son Geoffry was wont to call him the King of Folly.

By

By this time hoſtilities had commenced between the French and Engliſh on the frontiers of Guienne. John of Eltham, the king's brother, was declared governour of that dutchy, and a reſolution taken to ſend him over with a body of forces ſufficient for its defence. The archbiſhop was ordered to aſſemble a ſynod at Lambeth, that his clergy might grant a ſupply for defraying the expences of this expedition; but they refuſed to comply with the demand, alledging, in excuſe, that they were already loaded with heavier taxes than they could well ſupport, the pope having lately taxed them at a tenth of their benefices, and all the profits of vacancies, for the ſpace of four years, to be equally ſhared between the king and his holineſs.

On the fifteenth of June the queen was delivered at Wodeſtoke of her eldeſt ſon, who was chriſtened by the name of Edward, and lived to acquire immortal fame, under the title of the Black Prince. He was ſuckled by his excellent mother, who thus ſet a virtuous example to all the fine ladies of that age, and whoſe healthy conſtitution, and ſweet diſpoſition, rendered her extremely proper for performing ſuch a pious and tender office.

The birth of the young prince filled the nation with universal joy, and gave a new and happy turn to the management of public affairs. The king being now in the eighteenth year of his age, and having the honour to be a father, scorned to be any longer under the direction of a tutor; and of such a wicked, worthless, and abandoned tutor as the earl of Marche.

He beheld, with indignation, the pride, arrogance, and avarice of Mortimer, who treated the most potent of the nobility, and even the king himself, with the most intolerable contempt, and greedily grasped at every lucrative employment; he saw, with pleasure, the public hatred and odium under which that nobleman laboured, and which he was daily increasing by his cruel and tyrannical measures. He observed, with equal shame and sorrow, the scandalous familiarity, which subsisted between his mother and this favourite, and which was now become the common topic of conversation; and, actuated by all these motives, he resolved to free himself from his disgraceful subjection to this insolent upstart, and bring the culprit to condign punishment.

He no sooner began to discover his aversion to the favourite, than all those who had

had acceſs to his majeſty, endeavoured to inflame his reſentment to a ſtill higher degree. They recounted the particulars of Mortimer's vicious life and arbitrary proceedings.

They repreſented the murder of the late king, and the death of the earl of Kent, as the partial execution of a plot he had formed for extirpating the whole royal family; and Edward believed he had every thing to fear from a miſcreant, who had brought both his father and his uncle to an untimely end.

Determined, however, as he was, to effect the ruin of Mortimer, he found it would be no eaſy matter to carry his deſign into execution. That nobleman had ſo much uſurped the royal authority, and ſo entirely engroſſed the adminiſtration of public affairs into his own hands, that the whole power of the kingdom was at his devotion; he was always upon his guard; was conſtantly ſurrounded by a body of one hundred and eighty armed knights, and their followers; and continually employed a number of ſpies to watch the motions of his majeſty.

But Edward was not of a temper to be intimidated with dangers, or diſcouraged by difficulties. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtructions

ſtructions, he reſolved to effect the ruin of Mortimer, and imparted his deſign to William lord Montacute, and ſeveral other noblemen; and all of theſe concurred in adviſing him to apprehend the earl during the ſeſſion of parliament, which was ſummoned to meet about a fortnight after Michaelmas at Nottingham.

The king had propoſed to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle of that city; but was prevented by the queen-mother and Mortimer, who ſuſpecting his deſign, repaired thither before him, and took up their quarters in it with all their attendants; ſo that when the king arrived, there was no room for his retinue, though he himſelf was admitted, with three or four of his ſervants. Mortimer having received ſome private intelligence of the deſigns of his enemies, reſolved to defeat their project, by ſeizing their perſons, and committing them to cloſe cuſtody in this fortreſs.

Mean while, they took up their lodgings at the diſtance of a mile from town, that they might the more eaſily concert the meaſures for carrying their ſcheme into execution, without being obſerved by Mortimer; but, after the moſt mature deliberation, it was judged impracticable at that time, without the aſſiſtance of Sir William Eland,

Eland, governour of the caſtle, whom they, therefore, reſolved to draw over to their party.

Accordingly, he was let into the ſecret by the lord Montacute, and profeſſed his readineſs to ſerve his majeſty; but he could not admit them by the common entry, becauſe the queen had ordered new locks to be put upon the gates, and the keys to be brought every night into her chamber, and laid under her pillow.

Nevertheleſs, he propoſed another method which anſwered the purpoſe as effectually. On the weſtern ſide of the caſtle, there was an old cavern, the mouth of a ſubterraneous paſſage, that led into the caſtle, and through this he engaged to conduct them to Mortimer's apartment.

The propoſal was reliſhed, and meaſures were immediately concerted for carrying the ſcheme into execution. The lords Montacute, Molins, Ufford, Stafford, and Clinton, with Sir John Nevil of Hornby, Sir Humphry, Sir Edward, and Sir William de Bohun were the principal perſons concerned in this enterprize.

Theſe, and Sir William Eland took horſe on the nineteenth day of October, and left Nottingham; and Mortimer thought they had fled merely to avoid being ſeized by

his

his adherents; but they returned about midnight, and entering the ſubterraneous paſſage which is ſtill known by the name of Mortimer's hole, they were conducted by Sir William Eland into the chief tower of the caſtle.

From thence they advanced to the chamber adjoining to the queen's apartment; where Mortimer was ſitting with the biſhop of Lincoln, and others of his faction. Upon the firſt alarm, Sir Hugh Turpliton and Richard de Monmouth endeavoured to make ſome reſiſtance; but theſe being ſlain by the lord Montacute, Mortimer himſelf was taken priſoner.

The queen, ſtartled at the noiſe, and ſuſpecting the deſign of their coming, called aloud in the French language to her ſon, whom ſhe imagined to be at the head of the party, "Bel Fitz! Bel Fitz! ayez pitié du "gentile Mortimer;" Fair ſon! Fair ſon! have pity on the noble Mortimer. No notice being taken of her entreaties, ſhe ruſhed into the room among the conſpirators, and earneſtly beſought them to do no injury to his perſon; for he was a moſt worthy knight, her dear friend, and well-beloved couſin.

This affair was conducted with ſo much ſecrecy and diſpatch, that the people in the town

town knew nothing of it till next morning, when the royaliſts apprehended two of Mortimer's ſons, and ſeveral of his partiſans who were lodged in the caſtle, among whom were Oliver de Ingham, and Simon de Bereford, his chief counſellors and confidents.

All the priſoners were committed to the Tower of London; and, that ſame day, the king publiſhed a proclamation, lamenting the calamities which the nation had ſuffered under the late miniſtry, and acquainting the people that he had now taken the government into his own hands, and would do juſtice to all his ſubjects.

Three days after he went to Leiceſter, where he iſſued writs for a new parliament, to meet at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ſixth of November; and all perſons were deſired to come and lay their complaints before this aſſembly, that they might obtain a redreſs of their grievances.

The parliament was no ſooner met, than an impeachment was exhibited againſt Mortimer and his adherents. He was accuſed of creating a difference between the queen-mother and her late huſband; of procuring, by unfair means, exorbitant grants of caſtles, manors, and franchiſes, to the great prejudice of the crown; of embezzling the king's

king's jewels and treaſure; of uſurping the king's prerogative of purveyance, and appropriating to his own uſe twenty thouſand marks of the money paid by Scotland at the concluſion of the laſt treaty; of conſpiring to deſtroy his majeſty's beſt friends; of obtaining pardon for two hundred Iriſhmen, who had murdered the king's liege ſubjects; of extorting grants of ſoldiers from the knights of ſhires, and impoſing arbitrary fines upon the vaſſals of the crown, for excuſing them to ſerve in the war in Guienne; of aſſuming the royal power, and engroſſing the management of public affairs into his own hands, in violation of the decree of parliament, veſting the government of the realm in a council of regency; of offering a moſt outrageous inſult to the prelates aſſembled in parliament at Saliſbury; of adviſing the king to march in an hoſtile manner againſt the earl of Lancaſter and the other peers, who had ſtopped at Winchester; of perſecuting theſe noblemen and other members of the council; of laying exceſſive fines upon them, to the extent of more than one half of their eſtates, contrary to the capitulation of Bedford; of ſeizing the lands of the barons, and expelling them out of the kingdom; of having contrived a villainous

ſcheme

ſcheme for deſtroying the earl of Kent; and, finally, of having removed the late king from Kenilworth to Berkley-caſtle, where he was barbarouſly murdered by him and his confederates.

These facts were ſo indiſputable, and ſo generally known, that, without examining witneſſes, or hearing his defence (a privilege which he had denied to the earl of Kent) he was pronounced guilty of high-treaſon, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and this ſentence was executed on the twenty-ninth day of November, at a place called the Elmes, about a mile from London, where his body hung for two days on the common gallows.

Simon de Bereford underwent the ſame fate; and the like ſentence was paſſed upon Mautravers, Deverel, Gournay, Ogle, and Bayons, who had been concerned in the murder of the late king; but had found means to make their eſcape to the Continent; and the parliament offered a reward to all perſons, who ſhould take and bring them to juſtice.

Thomas lord Berkeley was tried by a jury of twelve knights, for being acceſſary to the king's murder, as it was perpetrated in his caſtle; but as it appeared that he

was entirely ignorant of the plot, was abſent from his caſtle at the time, and, indeed, had never heard of the horrid deed till the meeting of this parliament, he was honourably acquitted; though he was committed to the cuſtody of Ralph Nevil, ſteward of the houſhold, until he ſhould anſwer, in the next parliament, for the negligence and infidelity of his ſervants.

The traitors being thus puniſhed according to their deſerts, the lord Montacute, Sir Edward Bohun, Robert de Ufford, and the reſt who had aſſiſted in this ſalutary work, were rewarded with lands for their ſervices, and pardoned for the death of Turpliton and Monmouth: the fines and confiſcations incurred by the barons, who had appeared in arms with the earl of Lancaſter at Bedford, were remitted: the ſentence of attainder againſt the late earl of Kent was reverſed, and his ſon reſtored to his dignity and eſtate, as was his widow to the enjoyment of her jointure; and the earl of Arundel recovered the honours and poſſeſſions of his father.

All the ſheriffs, whom Mortimer had appointed, were turned out of their places; orders were ſent to all judges to adminiſter immediate and impartial juſtice to all perſons, notwithſtanding any letters to the contrary,

contrary, which might have been formerly procured from the crown; all grants of lands, caſtles, and wardſhips, ſince the king's acceſſion, were reſumed; queen Iſabel was deprived of all her poſſeſſions, and reduced to an annuity of three thouſand pounds, payable out of the Exchequer; though this allowance was afterwards increaſed to the ſum of four thouſand pounds, and lands were aſſigned for its payment.

At the ſame time, ſome wholeſome regulations were made for the preſervation of the peace, the management of the revenue, and the exerciſe of the government in Ireland. Theſe provided, that all who had lands in that kingdom ſhould reſide upon their eſtates, or find ſufficient guards for keeping the peace: that the truce with the rebels of Ireland ſhould be inviolably obſerved; but that no perſon ſhould protect or defend any of thoſe who dared to break it: that all hoſtages ſhould be confined in the king's caſtles: that the juſticiary ſhould be inhibited from granting protections to the king's enemies, or pardons to thoſe who were guilty of murder: that ſtewards of noblemen ſhould be deemed incapable of holding any office under the crown: that the cuſtoms ſhould be collected, not by ſtrangers, but

by the burgeſſes of the towns: that fines ſhould be paid in ready money, and not in cows: that all ſheriffs and officers employed in the revenue, ſhould give in their accounts once a year, and be poſſeſſed of lands, or find ſecurity to anſwer for the money with which they were entruſted: that the juſticiary ſhould be reſtrained from releaſing debts, fines and forfeitures belonging to the crown, or to diſpoſe of the cuſtody of lands, and the wardſhip and marriage of minors: that the Iriſh ſhould enjoy the benefit of the Engliſh laws: and that the ſheriffs and coroners ſhould be choſen by the freeholders of each reſpective county.

Mean while, Edward's affairs were but in a very indifferent ſituation in France. The count of Alençon had entered Guienne, and reduced Xaintes; and though a truce had been concluded for a ſhort time, the flames of war were now ready to burſt forth with double violence. As Edward had various diſputes to ſettle with the French king, which the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns could not finally adjuſt, he thought he ſhould be able to accommodate all theſe matters in an amicable manner, by having a perſonal interview with that monarch.*

He

* A. D. 1331.

He, therefore, reſolved to go over to the Continent, on pretence of performing a vow of pilgrimage, which he had made in ſome dangerous emergency. Accordingly, having committed the guardianſhip of the realm to his brother John of Eltham, he embarked at Dover on the fourth day of April, and, arriving in France, compromiſed all his differences with Philip de Valois.

He owned that liege-homage was due for Guienne; and he engaged to pay the remainder of the ſixty thouſand livres, and the fifty thouſand marks, ſtipulated in the treaty with Charles the Fair, as due to that prince, for coſts in the ſequeſtration of Guienne.

Philip granted a pardon to the officers of the dutchy, who by that treaty were baniſhed their country; he reſtored the town and caſtle of Xaintes; paid the ſum of thirty thouſand livres Tournois, to repair the damages done by his forces; and a treaty was ſet on foot for a marriage between Philip's daughter Jane, and the young prince of England.

Edward returned to England on the twentieth day of April, and iſſued writs for a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter on the thirtieth of September, in order to take

their advice about a design he had formed to go over to Ireland in person, and subdue the rebels of that country.

After mature deliberation, it was judged most expedient to send some experienced officer, with a body of troops sufficient to reestablish the tranquillity of that kingdom, and postpone his own voyage thither, until all disturbances should be quelled in England. The nation had, of late, been greatly infested with several bands of desperate banditti, composed of lawless and abandoned fellows, who, being accustomed to rapine during the late commotions, had herded together, and fixed their haunts in different woods and forests, from whence they made excursions over the adjacent country, robbing travellers, and extorting contributions from the defenceless peasants.

Flushed with success, and encouraged by impunity, they became so bold and numerous as to bid defiance to the civil power; and being countenanced and protected by some of the nobility, they had even the insolence to apprehend the judges on their circuit, and compelled them to pay large sums of money by way of ransom for their lives and liberties.

In order to free the kingdom from these freebooters, the parliament forbade the assembling

aſſembling of juſts and tournaments which ſerved as a plauſible pretence for the meetings of armed people, though ſometimes with a deſign to execute the blackeſt purpoſes.

The lords were ordered to withdraw their protection from ſuch lawleſs robbers, and give their aſſiſtance in ſuppreſſing theſe diſturbers of the public quiet, againſt whom his majeſty marched in perſon with ſo much ſucceſs, that, after having defeated them in ſeveral rencounters, he either killed, took, or expelled every one of them out of the kingdom; ſo that the nation was ſecure from ſuch banditti during the remaining part of his reign.

As the people had been greatly oppreſſed by the illegal extortions of ſheriffs, coroners, and bailiffs, during the tyrannical adminiſtration of Mortimer, commiſſions were iſſued for enquiring into theſe miſdemeanours, and making ſatisfaction to the injured parties; and a proclamation was publiſhed, prohibiting the exportation of ſpecie out of the kingdom.

The late treaty with France had made no other proviſion for the reſtitution of the Agenois, than that of ſubmitting the diſpute to the award of eight French peers, to be choſen by the king of England; and

as

as Edward was determined to recover that country, even though they ſhould reject his pretenſions, he began to make preparations for carrying his deſign into execution.

With this view he formed an alliance with the count of Gueldres, to whom he gave his ſiſter Eleanor in marriage; and prevailed upon the clergy and laity to grant him a large ſubſidy towards defraying the expence of the expedition.

The king of France having been lately appointed generaliſſimo of a cruſade by the pope, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of all the European princes, and particularly of the king of England; but the parliament being conſulted on the ſubject, diſſuaded Edward from embarking in ſuch an expedition, unleſs Philip would delay his departure till the diſturbances in Ireland could be fully appeaſed, and England freed from all danger of an invaſion from Scotland, which now ſeemed to be on the eve of a ſurprizing revolution.

Another parliament being convoked on the ninth day of September, to deliberate on the ſtate of Ireland, where a bloody war was broke out between the natives and the Engliſh, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that large ſupplies of men and money ſhould be ſent over to that kingdom, in order

der to ſtrengthen the hands of the government, and that a conſiderable ſubſidy ſhould be granted for that purpoſe; but it was not judged expedient that the king ſhould go thither in perſon, while the commotions in Scotland threatened his patrimonial dominions with ſuch immediate danger.

It had been ſtipulated in the treaty concluded with Robert de Brus, that the Scots ſhould be reſtored to their poſſeſſions in England, and the Engliſh recover ſuch lands as they had formerly enjoyed in Scotland. In conſequence of this article, James lord Douglas had been put in poſſeſſion of his manor of Faudon, and of all his father's lands in Northumberland; and Henry de Piercy had been reſtored to his rights in Scotland; but the ſame juſtice had not been done to Henry lord Beaumont earl of Buchan, David de Strathbolgy earl of Athol, Gilbert Umfreville earl of Angus, the lords Wake, Fitzwarin, Stafford, Ferrers, Mowbray, Talbot, Sir Roger Swinnerton and others, who were ſtill debarred from the benefit of this agreement.*

Edward had employed his good offices with the regency of Scotland, in favour of theſe noblemen, and was ſtill amuſed with evaſive, though civil anſwers, from whence he

* A. D. 1332.

he inferred, that the Scots were determined to keep poſſeſſion of the lands they had thus uſurped.

Nor was this the only cauſe of complaint. By another article in the ſame treaty, it had been agreed, that religious houſes and eccleſiaſtics ſhould enjoy their lands in each kingdom without moleſtation; yet, notwithſtanding this ſtipulation, the earl of Marche had ſeized the town of Upſetlington, ſituated on the northern ſide of the Tweed, but belonging to the biſhopric of Durham.

The king was not ſorry for their giving him a pretence to violate the treaty, which he conſidered as diſgraceful to his crown, and highly injurious to his right of ſovereignty over Scotland, which he reſolved ſome time or other to aſſert; but, as he had engaged upon bond to the pope, that he would not break the truce for the ſpace of four years, he was unwilling to incur the penalty to which ſuch a ſtep would have expoſed him.

The noblemen, however, who had loſt their eſtates, were not under the ſame reſtriction; they had been deprived of the rents of their lands for ſeveral years, and harraſſed with tedious and expenſive negotiations, and ſeeing no probability of ſucceeding

ceeding by fair means, they determined to recover their inheritances by force of arms, and Edward, in all likelihood, connived at their proceedings.

With this view they applied to Edward, ſon of John Baliol, who, at his father's death, had been left a minor, and a captive in England. He was a prince of undaunted courage, and of a bold and daring genius; and him they perſuaded to make an attempt for the recovery of his father's crown. The enterprize was the more likely to ſucceed, as David de Brus, the preſent king of Scotland, was only in his nonage; James lord Douglas, the moſt powerful and and accompliſhed nobleman in that kingdom, and a zealous partiſan of the Bruſſian family, had been lately killed in ſerving againſt the Moors in Spain; and Thomas Randolph, guardian of the realm, was oppreſſed with years and infirmities. Edward readily agreed to the propoſal; and they began to levy an army in order to ſupport his claim.

Though the king of England, afraid of incurring the diſpleaſure of the pope, had publiſhed a proclamation for preſerving the peace of the two kingdoms, and even denied them a paſſage by land through his dominions, they yet reſolved to carry their

ſcheme

ſcheme into execution; and embarking their forces at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, they arrived in the beginning of Auguſt at Kinghorn. Sir Alexander Seton, having aſſembled a body of the Fife Militia, endeavoured to oppoſe their landing; but he was defeated and ſlain with nine hundred of his men.

Baliol, advancing to Dumfermling, found a magazine of arms and proviſions, the laſt of which was of great ſervice to him, as his fleet was not yet arrived, and the firſt he diſtributed among ſuch of the Scots as joined his ſtandard. He then continued his march to Gladſmuir, where Donald earl of Marre, who, after the death of Randolph, which happened on the twentieth day of July, had ſucceeded to the regency, was encamped with an army (as is pretended) of forty thouſand men, while an advanced guard was poſted on the other ſide of the river Erne, to oppoſe the paſſage of the Engliſh.

This party, truſting to the great ſuperiority of their numbers, and the depth of the river, lay in the moſt ſecure and careleſs manner, without obſerving any kind of order in their encampment; and Baliol being apprized of this circumſtance by one of his ſpies, who, at the ſame time, directed him to a ford at a place called Duplin, he paſſed

paſſed it in the night with all his forces, and attacked the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were entirely routed and diſperſed before the morning.

The Engliſh, imagining that this party compoſed the whole of the Scottiſh army, and that they had gained a complete victory, were now beginning to take ſome refreſhment after their late fatigue, when the lords Veſcy, Stafford and Swinnerton, aſcending a neighbouring hill to take a view of the country, obſerved the main body of the enemy advancing in good order, and in three diviſions. The alarm being given to the camp, the Engliſh flew to their arms, and, taking poſſeſſion of a narrow defile, reſolved to wait the approach of the enemy without flinching.

Whether the earl of Marre thought it imprudent to attack them in that advantageous poſition, or hoped, on account of the ſmallneſs of their numbers, that he ſhould be able to compel them to yield without the chance of a battle, he propoſed to Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, a natural ſon of the late king, to ſend them a ſummons to ſurrender, upon condition of being diſmiſſed, after having paid for their ranſoms.

Carrick, naturally headstrong and impetuous, and fired with resentment against the son of his father's competitor, upbraided Marre with treachery and cowardice. Marre, conscious of his own innocence, boldly gave him the lie, and told him that he should soon see him charge the enemy as bravely as the proudest of them all. Carrick, in order to inflame him the more, replied, that he durst not begin the attack so soon as himself; and thus these furious chiefs laying the spurs to their horses, rushed forward against the enemy with the utmost precipitation, while their followers ran after them in disorder.

Such was the hurry and confusion of this attack, that when they came to the narrow passage, the men and horses tumbled over one another; and lay an easy prey to the English, who hewed them in pieces without resistance. Marre and Carrick were both slain, together with Alan earl of Monteith, Campbell the Scottish earl of Athol, the lords Neil and Alexander de Brus, Robert lord Keith, William lord Hay of Errol, constable of Scotland, Alexander lord Lindsay, a great number of knights and gentlemen, and above twelve thousand soldiers, whereas the loss of the English was very inconsiderable.

Baliol,

Baliol, flushed with this victory, advanced to Perth, which he entered without opposition; and, finding it stored with plenty of provisions, employed his troops in repairing the fortifications. This was a very prudent precaution: for he had hardly completed the works, when he found himself besieged by Patrick earl of Dunbar, and Archibald Douglas, who had assembled a strong body of veteran troops on the borders; and as they could not arrive in time to prevent the defeat of Gladsmuir, they now determined to invest the conqueror in the town of Perth, and starve him into a surrender. To effect their purpose with the greater facility and dispatch, they sent orders to John Crabbe, a Flemish sailor, whom they had engaged in their service, and who then lay at Berwick with ten ships well manned and armed, to destroy the English squadron, which rode at the mouth of the Tay, for the sake of furnishing the army with provisions.

Crabbe obeyed the order, and attacked the enemy with great impetuosity; but he met with such a warm reception, that all his own ships were either burnt or taken; and the Scottish generals, baffled in this attempt, and greatly distressed for want of subsistence, while Baliol was supplied by

ſea, were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and diſband their forces.

The Scots in general, amazed at the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms, and diſpirited by their late diſaſters, gave over all thoughts of farther reſiſtance; and Baliol was crowned king of Scotland, at Scone, on the twenty-ſeventh day of September. Few of the nobility were preſent on this occaſion; but the earl of Marche, and Archibald Douglas, with others in the Bruſſian intereſt, propoſed a truce till the enſuing Candlemas; and Baliol granted their requeſt, that he might have time to aſſemble a parliament for ſettling the affairs of the nation.

During this ſuſpenſion of arms, young David de Brus, with Jane, ſiſter of the king of England, the princeſs to whom he had been affianced, was ſent over to France, where Philip de Valois aſſigned them Chateau Gaillard for their reſidence, and treated them with great hoſpitality and politeneſs.

Edward, apprized of this revolution, convoked a parliament at York, on the fourth of December, in order to deliberate upon the meaſures he ſhould obſerve in ſuch a critical conjuncture. As ſcarcely any of the prelates, and few of the nobility,

lity, attended at this aſſembly, it was adjourned till the twentieth of January,* when the members having conſidered the ſubject, adviſed his majeſty to take the advice of the pope and the king of France, who had already wrote to Edward in favour of David de Brus. At the ſame time, they exhorted him to commit the care of the Marches to proper guardians, and to retain none but wiſe and faithful counſellors about his perſon.

The principal point upon which he deſired the advice of this parliament, related to his claim of ſuperiority over the kingdom of Scotland; but they declined giving their opinions on that ſubject, as they knew that Edward had already taken his reſolution.

He had, on the twenty-third of November of the preceding year, a perſonal interview with Baliol, who did liege-homage and ſwore fealty for the kingdom of Scotland; bound himſelf to aſſign the town, caſtle, and ſhire of Berwick in part of lands to the value of two thouſand pounds a year, which he engaged to convey to the king of England, to be united to his crown for ever; to aſſiſt him in his wars with a body

* A. D. 1333.

of two hundred men at arms, to be maintained at his own expence for the ſpace of one year; and to marry his ſiſter Jane, in caſe her conſent could be obtained, and her contract with David de Brus annulled.

Baliol, after his coronation, committed Perth to the care of Duncan, earl of Fife, and began his march for Roxburgh; but was attacked in his way by Andrew Murray, who, nevertheleſs, met with ſuch a warm reception, that his troops were entirely routed, and himſelf taken priſoner. Baliol now thinking himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom, and depending upon the truce which had lately been concluded, he diſbanded his Engliſh forces, and, in company with a few friends, repaired to Annan, where he intended to aſſemble a parliament.

The Bruſſian party, regardleſs of the truce, reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of ſurpriſing him and his attendants; and they executed their project with ſuch ſecreſy and diſpatch, that Edward had ſcarce time to mount a horſe, without ſaddle or bridle, on which he made his eſcape to Carliſle, tho' not without great difficulty; but all his followers fell into the hands of the enemy, and his own brother Henry loſt his life in the

the ſcuffle, after having atchieved prodigies of valour in endeavouring to accompliſh a retreat.

The Scots, elated with this ſucceſs, and tempted by the proſpect of plunder, made an inroad into Cumberland, which they waſted without oppoſition; and this violation of the truce, furniſhed the king of England with a plauſible pretext to renounce the treaty, and eſpouſe the intereſt of Baliol. Hoſtilities were now committed on both ſides; and frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between the plundering parties, in one of which Sir W. Douglas, the Scottiſh general, was routed and taken by Sir Anthony Lacy.

The king of England being now fully determined to undertake an expedition into Scotland, made loud complaints at the courts of France, Rome, and Flanders, of the hoſtilities committed by the people of that country: at the ſame time he ſent ambaſſadors to demand homage from David de Brus, and, meeting with a flat refuſal, declared war againſt him as a rebellious vaſſal.

He ſent for ſuccours from Aquitain and Ireland; and ordered his forces to aſſemble at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, from whence, in the beginning of May, he advanced to Berwick,

wick, which he preſently inveſted, fixing his head-quarters at Tweedmouth.

The Scots, who juſtly conſidered this place as the key to their country, had taken care to ſupply it with a ſtrong garriſon, under two of their braveſt commanders, Sir William de Keith, guardian of the town, and Patrick Dunbar, earl of Marche, governor of the caſtle, both of whom ſufficiently juſtified the high expectations that were entertained of their capacity and valour.

They defended the place with ſuch undaunted courage, and deſtroyed the works of the beſiegers in ſuch frequent and vigorous ſallies, that Edward, after ſeveral unſucceſsful aſſaults, reſolved to turn the ſiege into a blockade, in order to ſtarve them into a ſurrender; and, in the mean time, to advance into the heart of Scotland, in hopes of forcing the guardian to a general engagement.

Accordingly, having left the conduct of the ſiege to Baliol, he entered that country, and penetrated as far as Edinburgh, without meeting with any other interruption than that of being haraſſed in his march, by the flying parties of the Scottiſh army; Archibald Douglas, the new regent of the kingdom, prudently declining a deciſive battle.

After

After having reduced the caſtles of Edinburgh and Blackneſs, and furniſhed them with ſufficient garriſons, he returned to Berwick, the ſiege of which he now preſſed with freſh vigour. Douglas, afraid of attacking the enemy in their intrenchments, reſolved to force them to abandon the enterpriſe, by making a diverſion in England. With this view he paſſed the borders, and inveſted the caſtle of Banborough, in which the queen was lodged.

But Edward's ambition was ſtronger than his love. Beſides, he knew the place was well provided for a vigorous defence, and the Scots deſtitute of every implement for carrying on a ſiege; he therefore conſidered the attempt as a ſcheme deſigned to divert his attention from Berwick, which he was determined to reduce at all events.

The garriſon had now held out for upwards of two months; but at laſt, the fortifications being entirely ruined, and their proviſions almoſt exhauſted, they ſued for a truce of five days, on condition of ſurrendering the place, if it ſhould not be relieved before the end of that term.*

Sir

* The Scottiſh hiſtorians alledge, that Sir Alexander Seaton, the deputy-governor of the town, delivered his two ſons as hoſtages to Edward, and that the place not being relieved within the time preſcribed by the

Sir William de Keith having obtained a ſafe-conduct, repaired to Banborough, at that

the truce, that prince hanged them up in ſight of the father, who, being ſummoned to ſurrender, according to agreement, at firſt refuſed to comply, but would at laſt have yielded, had it not been for the heroic advice of his wife, who, with a more than maſculine ſpirit, exhorted him to prefer his duty to his king and country, to the calls of natural affection. Dr. Smollet remarks, with equal juſtice and ingenuity, that this ſtory is founded on the bare aſſertion of the Scottiſh writers, without the leaſt ſhadow of proof or evidence; and that it is flatly denied by all the Engliſh hiſtorians.

Mr. Guthrie, according to his uſual turn for ſingularity, repreſents the matter in a very different light. He ſays the Scottiſh authors pretend, that Edward had no ſooner got the hoſtages in his power, than he demanded the immediate ſurrender of the place, even before the expiration of the truce; and, upon meeting with a refuſal, ordered them to be hanged, with equal cruelty and injuſtice. He acknowledges, indeed, that this account is abſolutely falſe and ridiculous, and is pilfered from a ſimilar incident in the Roman hiſtory. But he affirms, that, even according to the Engliſh hiſtorians, Edward cauſed *one*, if not *two* of the ſons, to be hanged, upon the governor's refuſing to ſurrender the place at the expiration of the truce; and he inſinuates, that the ſituation of his affairs required ſuch a violent meaſure. We ſhould have been glad, however, if this gentleman had taken the trouble to mention the names of theſe Engliſh authors; for, after the moſt diligent ſearch, we have not been able to find any hiſtorians of this country that acknowledge ſuch a fact.

Whether

that time beſieged by Douglas, whom he entreated to come to the relief of the place; but

Whether or not the ſituation of Edward's affairs required ſuch a violent meaſure (as Mr. Guthrie alledges) we will not take upon us to determine. Certain it is, that ſuch a ſtep, however reconcileable to the rigid principles of juſtice, would have been altogether inconſiſtent with the feelings of humanity; and if ever the maxim, *Summum jus, ſumma injuria*, could be properly applied, it would ſurely have held in the preſent caſe.

Hume and Rapin omit the ſtory entirely; and Carte takes notice of it only to reject it as a pretty romantic tale, invented by the Scottiſh authors, in order to blacken the memory of Edward; and not content with this verdict, in which perhaps he had decided juſtly, he roundly paſſes the ſame ſentence upon every thing which the Scots have ſaid that ſeems to reflect, in the leaſt degree, upon the humanity of any of our Engliſh monarchs.

We are as zealous as Mr. Carte for the honour of our country; yet, as we would wiſh to have our zeal tempered with a little more knowledge and moderation, we muſt honeſtly confeſs, that, though we believe the preſent ſtory to be a mere fiction, we would be very far from vindicating every action which our monarchs may have performed. Thus much, however, we may venture to affirm, and we imagine, the more ſenſible part of Scottiſh people will be of the ſame opinion, that whatever acts of rigour and ſeverity are laid to the charge of our ancient princes, they ought rather to be imputed to the manners of the age in which they lived, than to the cruelty of their own hearts, or the barbarity of the nation, of which they were the ſovereigns.

but that nobleman, though by no means deficient in perſonal courage, was extremely unwilling to hazard a general engagement, as ſuch a ſtep was directly contrary to the dying advice of the late king, and, if unſucceſsful, might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences.

However, as there was no other method of preſerving Berwick, he at laſt agreed to the propoſal; and accordingly began his march for Bothville, near Halidowne hill, where he arrived on the nineteenth day of July, and drew up his troops in four lines, commanded by the chief nobility of Scotland.

The Engliſh were ranged upon the declivity of the hill, divided into as many battalions, and their wings were flanked with archers, for which the kingdom was always diſtinguiſhed. In this poſture Edward waited the approach of the enemy, who began to aſcend the hill with great intrepidity, about the hour of veſpers.

But their charge, though furious, was ſo bravely received that they were ſoon checked in their career: they were terribly galled by the Engliſh archers, who plied them with thick and repeated ſhowers of arrows; they were greatly incommoded by the large ſtones that were continually tumbled down upon

upon them; and upon the fall of their general, who was killed by a ſpear, they were thrown into the utmoſt diſorder and conſternation.

Edward, ſeeing this favourable opportunity, ordered John lord Darcy to charge them in flank, with a body of light-armed foot from Ireland; while he himſelf attacked them in front, with a choice brigade of men at arms, and archers on horſeback. The men at arms in the Scottiſh army, in order to encourage the common ſoldies, and begin the battle with greater firmneſs, had diſmounted, and committed their horſes to the care of their lacquies, who no ſooner obſerved the bad fortune of the day, than they rode off the field with the utmoſt precipitation. The Scots being thus deprived of all means either of flight or reſiſtance, were immediately ſurrounded on all hands, and hewed to pieces in a moſt terrible manner.

Amidſt the contradictory accounts of various authors, it is impoſſible to aſcertain the exact number of ſlain on the ſide of the enemy; though, according to the moſt probable computation, it may be ſuppoſed to have amounted to between ten and fifteen thouſand men, among whom was the greateſt part of their principal

nobility.* This ſignal victory was gained by the Engliſh with a very inconſiderable loſs; and the town and caſtle of Berwick, according to agreement, ſurrendered next morning.

Edward executed all the articles of the capitulation with great punctuality. Such of the Scottiſh inhabitants as choſe to remove, were allowed a ſufficient time for that purpoſe; and thoſe who were willing to ſubmit to the Engliſh government, were permitted to ſtay in the place.

Patrick

* The Scots, who may be ſuppoſed to be the beſt judges of their own loſs, fix the number of their ſlain and captives at ten thouſand. Dr. Smollet and Mr. Guthrie increaſe it to twenty thouſand, and reduce the loſs of the Engliſh to one knight, one eſquire, and thirteen common ſoldiers. Mr. Carte, with his uſual turn for exaggeration, ſwells the loſs of the enemy to thirty thouſand, and computes that of the Engliſh at the ſame number with Dr. Smollet and Mr. Guthrie.

But, what is moſt ſurprizing, Mr. Hume, an author whom no body will charge with an exceſs of credulity, follows the account of Carte. He adds, indeed, that "the inequality is almoſt incredible;" but when we conſider the ſolid judgment, and acute penetration of this gentleman, and eſpecially his extreme averſion to every thing that has the leaſt appearance of the *miraculous*, we are ſtrongly tempted to think there muſt be an error of the preſs, and that inſtead of *almoſt incredible*, it ſhould be read, *abſolutely impoſſible*.

Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, engaged in the ſervice of Edward, who committed the guard of Lothian and Galloway to that nobleman, in conjunction with Henry lord Piercy. Having given directions for repairing the fortifications of Berwick, and left about ſix and twenty thouſand men with Baliol, to enable him to ſubdue Scotland, he diſmiſſed the reſt of his forces, and returned to the ſouthern parts of England.

The Scots were ſo much weakened and diſpirited by their late diſaſters, that Baliol had little reaſon to be apprehenſive of any oppoſition. Accordingly he made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom, except the caſtles of Dunbritton, Urquhart, and two or three others, which were generally deemed impregnable. On the ninth day of February he aſſembled a parliament at Edinburgh, in which the biſhops of Glaſgow, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Witherne, Roſs, Dumblain, and Brechin, the Engliſh earls of Buchan, Athole, and Mar, the earl of Marche, Sir William de Keith, Sir Alexander Seton, and ſeveral other prelates and noblemen were preſent; and here the two charters of homage to the king of England, ſigned by Baliol, were ratified and confirmed; David earl of Athole, and the lords Beaumont and

Talbot, were reſtored to the eſtates which they had formerly poſſeſſed in Scotland; Henry de Piercy was indulged with a grant of the Pele of Lochmaban, Annandale, and Moffetdale, which belonged to the earl of Murray; ſeveral other Engliſh gentlemen were gratified with lands, at the expence of the Scottiſh proprietors; all the ſtatutes and ordinances, enacted in the reigns of Robert and David de Brus, were repealed; the lands they had granted away, were reſumed and reſtored to the former poſſeſſors; and the town and caſtle of Jedburgh, the towns, caſtles, and counties of Berwick, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Peebles, and Selkirk, and the foreſts of Jedburgh and Etrick, with the conſtabularies of Haddington and Linlithgow, were conveyed to Edward, to be united to the crown of England for ever.

It is not to be ſuppoſed that Baliol, after ſuch imprudent and impolitic meaſures, could long maintain his footing in Scotland. All thoſe who had been ſtripped of their eſtates, became his declared and implacable enemies; and the natives in general, who regarded the intereſt and honour of their country, at once deſpiſed and hated a prince, who had thus diſmembered their monarchy, and reſigned that freedom and in-

independence, which they had defended for ſuch a length of time, and with ſuch a profuſion of blood and treaſure.

Nor were theſe the only inſtances of miſconduct of which Baliol was guilty: he was ſo imprudent as to diſoblige the lord Beaumont, to whoſe advice and aſſiſtance he was chiefly indebted for the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe, and to whom he lay under the greateſt obligations. The earldom of Buchan, which this nobleman poſſeſſed in right of his wife, who was daughter of Alexander Cumin, was taken from him and given to Sir Alexander Mowbray, who had ſome pretenſions to a part of the inheritance.

This perſon had been a zealous adherent of the Bruſſian family; but had lately deſerted that ſide, and ſubmitted to the government of Baliol. The cauſe between him and Beaumont was debated in parliament with ſo much warmth, that the parties could hardly be reſtrained from proceeding to extremities. Talbot and Strathbolgy eſpouſed the intereſt of their countryman Beaumont, while the Scottiſh members declared in favour of Mowbray.

After a long and violent altercation, Baliol gave ſentence in favour of the latter. The parliament broke up in great confu-

ſion. Beaumont and Athole repaired to their eſtates; and Talbot, in his return to England, was ſurpriſed by a party of the Bruſſians, and impriſoned in the caſtle of Dunbritton.

Baliol ſoon perceived his error. He ſaw his intereſt greatly weakened, and almoſt ruined, by this diſpute; and, conſcious of his own folly, endeavoured to regain the friends he had loſt: he reverſed the ſentence he had paſſed againſt Beaumont, beſtowed a grant of other eſtates upon Athole, and engaged to pay the ranſome of Talbot.

But this accommodation could not repair the miſchief he had done, nor re-unite his friends and adherents, who were already diſperſed; a circumſtance of which the Bruſſians did not fail to take the advantage. Some prelates and noblemen of that party had gone over to France, and applied to Philip for aſſiſtance. That prince renewed the league which had formerly ſubſiſted between his predeceſſor and Robert de Brus, and ſent Arnoul de Audenham, with a good body of troops, to the relief of his friends in Scotland.

The Bruſſians, ſtrengthened by this reinforcement, and encouraged by the hopes of further aſſiſtance, began to collect their forces

forces for reſtoring David to the throne of his father. The lord Andrew Murray, guardian of Scotland, who had been a priſoner in the caſtle of Roxburgh, obtained his liberty at this critical period, and returned home to head that party.

It may ſeem ſtrange that this nobleman ſhould be able to recover his freedom at ſuch a delicate conjuncture, eſpecially as this meaſure could not fail to be extremely prejudicial to the Engliſh intereſt; but it ought to be remembered, that, in thoſe ancient times, priſoners belonged to the perſons who took them, and who, upon that account, might ſet them at liberty, upon receiving a proper ranſome, without the knowledge or conſent of their ſovereign.

Murray was ſoon joined by Mowbray, now diſobliged in his turn at the repeal of the ſentence, which had been paſſed in his favour: they beſieged the lord Beaumont in his ſtrong caſtle of Dundarg, and forced him to capitulate on very hard terms. The earl of Athole, unable to oppoſe the guardian, fled into Lochabar; but, being cloſely purſued, he was fain to ſubmit and ſwear allegiance to David, whoſe friends ſoon became maſters of all the northern parts of Scotland.

Edward had convoked a parliament at London, on the nineteenth day of September, to conſult about an expedition which he propoſed to undertake for the relief of Paleſtine, in conjunction with the king of France and other European princes; but that deſign was delayed upon the firſt news of this revolution in Scotland, and the deliberations of the aſſembly were wholly employed in concerting the proper means of retrieving the Engliſh intereſt in that country.

For this purpoſe, the barons and knights of the ſhires voted a fifteenth; the clergy granted a tenth of their revenues; and the citizens and burgeſſes gave the ſame proportion of their moveables. The king ordered his military tenants to meet him by a certain day, and determined to paſs the winter in the north, that he might be ready to enter Scotland in the ſpring with a powerful army.

In the mean time, he ſent a ſtrong body of forces to the aſſiſtance of Edward Baliol, who eaſily ſubdued the counties of Renfrew, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick; and had almoſt ſurpriſed Robert, the ſteward of Scotland, a youth about fifteen years of age, the nephew and heir of David de Brus, whom he ſucceeded on the Scottiſh throne. He was lord

lord of Bute and Arran, two iſlands which Baliol reduced; but young Robert eſcaped his hands, and was conveyed by his friends to the caſtle of Dunbritton.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, king Edward entered Scotland on the eaſtern border, and penetrated into the heart of the country, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition; but, in his return to Berwick, he was informed of the defection of Patrick Dunbar, earl of Marche, who ſent him a letter, containing a formal renunciation of his homage.*

This revolt would probably have been followed by the ſiege of his caſtle, the fortifications of which he had repaired and ſtrengthened; but all hoſtilities were now ſuſpended, by the arrival of ſome French ambaſſadors, ſent by Philip to mediate a peace between the Scots and the Engliſh. Conferences were accordingly opened at Gedeling, near Northampton, to which place the Scottiſh deputies repaired, under the protection of a ſafe-conduct; and, in the mean time, a truce was concluded, to remain in force till the enſuing Midſummer.

The terms of accommodation propoſed by the French ambaſſadors, who were warmly

* A. D. 1335.

warmly attached to the intereſt of the Scots, were utterly rejected by Edward, who reſolved to reduce that people to an entire ſubjection. With this view he ordered all his military tenants in Ireland, to furniſh their proportions of men and money; he formed an alliance with the earls of Namur, Juliers, and Montbeliard; and gave directions for fitting out a fleet, as well in Gaſcony as in England. The lord juſtice d'Arcy brought a body of troops from Ireland, in ſix and fifty veſſels, with which he waſted the iſles of Bute and Arran.

Edward having aſſembled his army by the middle of July, and divided it into two bodies, ſent one of them to invade Scotland by the way of Berwick, under the command of Baliol, accompanied by the earls of Surrey and Arundel, the lords Beaumont, Piercy, Nevil, Stafford, and Canteloupe; while he himſelf, at the head of the other, and attended by the count of Juliers with his foreign knights, and the principal nobility of England, paſſed the borders on the ſide of Carliſle, and advanced into the enemy's country; a fleet of one hundred and fifty ſhips, at the ſame time, being ordered to ſail along the coaſt, and ſupply him with proviſions.

The

The Bruſſians were too prudent to oppoſe theſe formidable armies in the field. They withdrew into their hills and faſtneſſes, from whence they ſallied forth upon occaſion, and ſurprized the detached parties of the Engliſh; and the two kings met at Perth with their forces, after having waſted the whole country in their way.

During their abode at this place, the young count of Namur, coming to join them with a party of a hundred men at arms, was attacked on the road near Edinburgh, by the earls of Marche and Murray, and Sir William Douglas, with a good body of followers. The foreigners, and their young count made a brave reſiſtance, till, at length, being overpowered by ſuperior numbers, they were obliged to take refuge among the ruins of the caſtle of Edinburgh, which, by Edward's orders, had been lately demoliſhed. There they fortified themſelves with ſo much art, that had they been ſupplied with proviſions, they might have held out a conſiderable time; but, being entirely deſtitute of all the neceſſaries of life, they were forced to ſurrender, on condition of not ſerving againſt the Scots, and being conveyed back into England.

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The Scots, encouraged by this ſucceſs, aſſembled to the number of ten thouſand men, and made an invaſion into England, in hopes of compelling Edward to quit their country, and return to the defence of his own dominions; but they were met by the militia of the four northern counties, under the command of John of Eltham and Sir Anthony Lacy, and after a deſperate and bloody engagement, in which the earl of Murray was taken priſoner, were entirely routed and diſperſed.

The Bruſſians were ſo diſpirited by this defeat, that moſt of them began to lay aſide all thoughts of further reſiſtance, and reſolved to make their peace with Edward on the beſt terms they could obtain. Accordingly, Robert the ſteward, and David earl of Athole, ſent the lords Alexander and Geoffry Mowbray, with a tender of their ſubmiſſion to the king of England; and as the ſeaſon was now pretty far advanced, Edward embraced their propoſals with great alacrity.

After ſome previous debates, a treaty was concluded on condition, that the Scottiſh noblemen ſhould be indulged with a free pardon for all former offences; enjoy their lands, honours and offices in Scotland, and recover the poſſeſſion of their eſtates in England,

land, which had been confiſcated; that all the privileges and franchiſes of the kirk and boroughs of Scotland ſhould be inviolably preſerved, and all the offices of the crown and kingdom be conferred on natives only, except in ſome particular caſes, where king Edward Baliol might ſee reaſon to exert his prerogative in favour of perſons of a different nation.

To theſe articles, which were ſigned at Perth on the eighteenth day of Auguſt, Duncan earl of Fife, and ſeveral others of the Scottiſh nobility, acceded. Some, however, continued to hold out till the month of September, in hopes of receiving aſſiſtance from the French monarch; but, finding themſelves diſappointed in their expectations, they, at length, made their ſubmiſſion on the following terms; that they ſhould obey Baliol as their king during his natural life; that, in the mean time, David de Brus ſhould be honourably maintained at London, and, on the death of Baliol, who had no children, ſhould ſucceed to the throne of Scotland: and they even engaged that David ſhould appear in the Engliſh parliament, to be held after Michaelmas in London, to ſtand to the award of Edward and his council.

On the firſt of November the king aſſembled the biſhops, noblemen and freeholders of his party at Edinburgh, when two inſtruments were drawn up, and ſealed with the great ſeal of the kingdom, declaring, that David's predeceſſors, kings of Scotland, had held, in ancient times, and ought ſtill to hold their realm of the kings of England, to whom they had done homage, and ſwore fealty, as appeared by old records and pleas of the crown. David, therefore, by his letters-patent, made with advice and conſent of the three eſtates of the kingdom, aſſembled in parliament at Edinburgh, did acknowledge to hold the kingdom of Scotland, and alſo the Iſles, of Edward III. king of England, by liege-homage and fealty, as of the ſuperior lord of the kingdom of Scotland, notwithſtanding all, and all manner of releaſes, remiſſions, quit-claims, and other letters whatſoever, made by any king, or kings, of England to the contrary.*

Andrew Murray, the regent, and the majority of the Scottiſh nation, did not aſſent to this agreement, but ſtill continued to harraſs

* This inſtrument, contained in a cheſt, intitled Scotia, is ſtill to be ſeen in the old Chapter-houſe in the cloyſter of Weſtminſter-abbey; though it is ſuppoſed by Tyrrel, and other Engliſh hiſtorians, to be a mere forgery.

harraſs the Engliſh and the friends of Baliol, with fierce incurſions and reſolute attacks; nor did they yet deſpair of being able to procure a powerful reinforcement from the king of France.

Edward, having received the ſubmiſſion of thoſe who owned his ſuperiority, gave orders for repairing the fortifications of Perth, and rebuilding the caſtles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Bothwel, and then appointing the earl of Athole guardian of the Northern parts, returned to Berwick in the beginning of October.

This noblemen had been indulged with a pardon, and re-admitted into favour, upon his proteſting that the homage he had done to David de Brus, was merely the effect of compulſion; and, in order to prove the ſincerity of his profeſſions, and manifeſt his zeal for the intereſt of Edward, he marched at the head of three thouſand men, and inveſted the caſtle of Kildrummy, in which the regent's wife reſided.

Murray was no ſooner apprized of this circumſtance, than he collected a ſmall body of forces, and flew to her relief with incredible expedition; and though inferior to the enemy in point of number, attacked them with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that they were preſently routed with great ſlaughter,

Athole himself, and five other knights being slain in the action.

The regent, elated with this advantage, laid siege to the castles of Coupar and Lochindoris; and the success of his arms, in those parts, concurred with the entreaties of the pope and the French king to induce Edward to conclude a truce with the Scots, to continue in force till the ninth day of May in the ensuing year.

This suspension was intended as a previous step to the conclusion of a final peace; and a treaty was immediately begun at Newcastle, whither the regent, with Sir William Douglas, Sir William Keith, and Robert Lauther, repaired under the security of a safe-conduct, which was likewise granted to six other commissioners, sent by David de Brus from France, to assist at the conferences.

But a peace between the Scots and the English was, by no means, for the interest of Philip de Valois. He knew, that as long as Edward should be engaged in a war with his neighbours at home, he would have no time to execute the scheme he had formed for asserting his claim to the kingdom of France. The French envoys, therefore, under the disguise of mediators, exerted all their influence and address, to defeat the success of the negociation.*

Besides,

* A. D. 1336.

Beſides, Philip had publickly declared that he would ſupport his allies, the Scots, to the utmoſt of his power; he had already furniſhed them with conſiderable ſupplies of men, money, and ammunition; and he flattered them with the hopes of ſuch powerful and effectual aſſiſtance, that their deputies inſiſted on very high terms; in conſequence of which, the treaty was broken off, and they reſolved to renew hoſtilities immediately after the expiration of the truce.

Edward was too ſagacious not to foreſee that this would be the reſult of the negotiation; he was no ſtranger to the arts and intrigues of the French court; he was fully apprized of all the tranſactions of the Scots in foreign countries, where they were endeavouring to procure ſuccours of various kinds; and he had, therefore, continued his military preparations without regarding the iſſue of the treaty.

He had, in two different parliaments at York and Weſtminſter, enacted ſeveral laws for the freedom and extenſion of commerce, and the preſervation of the weight and quality of the ſpecie; he had made ſome wholeſome regulations for the puniſhment of murder, robbery, and other kinds of felony, and for reſtraining his officers from committing exceſſes in the caſe of purvey-

ance; and he had, by theſe means, acquired ſuch a ſtock of popularity, that the earls, barons, knights, and freeholders voted a fifteenth of their rents, the clergy granted a tenth of their revenues, and the citizens and burgeſſes gave a tenth of their moveables, in order to enable him to proſecute the Scottiſh war.

Thus furniſhed with money, he ordered his vaſſals to attend him in the North with horſe and arms, ſo as to be ready to invade Scotland at the expiration of the truce; and beſtowed the chief command of the army upon Henry, ſon of the old earl of Lancaſter.

On the twenty-fifth day of June, he aſſembled a parliament at Northampton, to concert the proper meaſures for oppoſing the deſigns of the French monarch, who threatened England with an invaſion; and, at the ſame time, he received intelligence of the war being renewed by the Scottiſh regent Murray, who, upon the expiration of the truce, took the caſtles of St. Andrew's and Bothwel, and laid ſiege to thoſe of Stirling and Lochindoris.

The king, informed of theſe proceedings, repaired to Berwick with great expedition, and being there joined by a ſmall party of men at arms, continued his march

to

to Perth, where he arrived in the beginning of July, to the great ſurprize as well of his friends as of his enemies.

Upon the firſt news of his arrival, the Bruſſians made a deſperate aſſault upon the caſtle of Stirling, in which Sir William de Keith was ſlain; but being repulſed in this attempt with great loſs, and hearing that Edward was coming to relieve the place, they relinquiſhed that enterprize, as well as the ſiege of Lochindoris, and retired into their woods and faſtneſſes, to avoid a general engagement.

The king directed his march into the northern counties, proceeding through Athole to Inverneſs, and from thence by Elgin through the ſhire of Murray, waſting and ravaging the country in his way. The lord Beaumont, at the head of a ſeparate party, maſſacred, without mercy, all whom he ſuſpected of having been concerned in the battle againſt his brother-in-law, the earl of Athole.

The town of Aberdeen was reduced to aſhes, to puniſh the inhabitants for the death of Sir Thomas Roſſelin, whom they had attacked and killed on his landing at Dunotter; and Edward having proceeded to the utmoſt extremity of Scotland, returned to Perth, leaving the country behind him a dreary and ſolitary waſte.

During

During these transactions in the North, the king's brother John of Eltham, at the head of another army, over-ran the western counties, where the Brussian interest was most prevalent, and filled the shires of Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham with terror and desolation.

Mean while, the king of France had fitted out a powerful armament, both by sea and land, for the assistance of the Scots, and appointed their young king David admiral of his fleet, which, under this youthful commander, scoured the channel, wasted the Isle of Wight, and the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, and threatened England with an invasion.

Though Edward would willingly have avoided a rupture with France, until he had compleated the conquest of Scotland, he yet found it necessary to provide for the defence of his kingdom. With this view he ordered a fleet from Bayonne, in Gascony, to come and cruize in the English channel; and persuaded the States of Genoa and Provence to put a stop to the warlike preparations which the French monarch was making in these two countries, under pretence of equipping an armament for an expedition to Palestine.

Edward

Edward, having taken these prudent precautions, returned to England, and convoked a parliament at Nottingham, on the twenty-third day of September, where some sumptuary laws were enacted, restricting the prelates and nobility to two courses at every meal, and two kinds of food in every course, except on certain great festivals; and for prohibiting all who did not enjoy an estate of one hundred pounds a year, from wearing furs, skins, or silk of foreign manufacture; and the use of foreign cloth was confined to the royal family alone.

These wholesome and salutary laws restraining the progress of luxury and extravagance, and promoting the English manufactures, were so agreeable to the nation in general, that the nobility gave him a fifteenth of their rents, the clergy a sixth of their revenues, and boroughs granted a tenth of their moveables, besides an additional duty of forty shillings upon every sack of wool which belonged to foreigners.

Though Edward had subdued the country, he could not be said to have conquered the natives of Scotland, who, upon his approach, always took refuge in their woods and fastnesses, and, at his departure,

sallied

ſallied forth from theſe retreats, and recovered the places they had formerly loſt.

He had no ſooner quitted that kingdom, than Andrew Murray took the field, with a ſtrong party of Bruſſians, and reduced the caſtles of Dunotter, Kinnef, and Lauriſton, which Edward had fortified in the laſt expedition; and his brother, John of Eltham, whom he had left with Baliol to oppoſe the enemy, had lately died at Perth, unmarried, and without iſſue.

As ſoon as the king was informed of theſe circumſtances, he ſet out on his return for Scotland, and arrived at Perth in the beginning of November; but as the regent retired to the foreſt of Platen, where he continued during the winter, Edward could do no more than waſte and ravage the open country, and repair the fortifications of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Roxburgh.

It was about this time, that, receiving intelligence of the hoſtilities committed by the French fleet upon his territories and ſubjects, he ſent a commiſſion to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of London, the earls of Surrey and Lancaſter, and William Clifton, conſtable of Dover, to call a great council at London, to concert proper meaſures for ſecuring the coaſt

and

and the kingdom againſt the attempts of David de Brus and his adherents; at the ſame time, he ordered Geoffry de Say, one of his admirals, to fit out a fleet and maintain his dominion in the Engliſh ſea, which his predeceſſors had always poſſeſſed; and particularly to attack and deſtroy the gallies of France, ſhould they approach the coaſts of England or Scotland.

He had long endeavoured to accommodate all his diſputes with Philip de Valois in an amicable manner; but now finding the affected delays and deceitful profeſſions of that monarch terminate in open hoſtilities committed by his ſhips at ſea, and by his army in Guienne, he reſolved to repel force by force, to defend his kingdom againſt all the attempts of his enemies, and ſtrengthen himſelf by foreign alliances.

With this view he ſent commiſſioners to treat with the duke of Auſtria, the archbiſhop of Cologne, and the biſhop of Liege; and gave a diſcretionary power to his allies, the counts of Hainault and Holland, and the earl of Juliers, to make a league with ſuch ſtates and potentates as they ſhould think moſt proper to engage in his ſervice.

In

In order to attach the duke of Brabant the more firmly to his intereſt, he agreed that a ſtaple of Engliſh wool ſhould be eſtabliſhed at Bruſſels; though ſuch an exportation was extremely prejudicial to the manufactures of his own country, and directly contrary to the conduct he formerly obſerved, when he wiſely offered great encouragement to ſuch weavers and cloth-workers of the Low Countries, as ſhould come and ſettle in England.

Edward, the better to carry on his negociations with foreign princes, and concert his meaſures at home with greater diſpatch, returned to England before Chriſtmas. On the third day of March,* he convoked a parliament at Weſtminſter, where his eldeſt ſon Edward was created duke of Cornwall, the firſt title of the kind ever known in this country.

In this ſame aſſembly, ſeveral noblemen were raiſed to higher titles than what they had formerly enjoyed: Henry, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Lancaſter, was promoted to the earldom of Derby; that of Glouceſter was beſtowed upon Hugh de Audeley; William Clinton was made earl of Huntingdon, William de Bohun earl of Northampton, William de Montacute earl of Saliſbury, and

* A. D. 1337.

and Robert d'Ufford earl of Suffolk; the two laſt being likewiſe indulged with a grant of one thouſand marks a year in land, to enable them to ſupport their dignity.

Theſe promotions, like the advancement of general officers in modern times, were conſidered as the prelude to a war, which Edward reſolved to wage againg Philip de Valois, not only for the recovery of the lands in Guienne, which he had ſeized, but alſo for the conqueſt of the whole kingdom of France, of which he believed himſelf to be the undoubted heir, as next in blood to the late king.

In this notion he was ſtrongly encouraged by Robert d'Artois, a prince of the blood of France, and at this time a refugee in England. Robert had married a ſiſter of Philip; and, preſuming upon this alliance, as well as his own power and intereſt in the kingdom, he revived a law-ſuit for the county of Artois, which had been formerly adjudged to his aunt Maude, daughter of Robert count of Artois; and, in order to ſtrengthen his claim, he produced ſome ſpurious deeds, forged on purpoſe by a lady of Bethune, named Divion, who was famous for her ſkill in counterfeiting ſeals and writings.

The cheat, however, was ſoon diſcovered, and Divion, having confeſſed the fact, was condemned to be burnt alive. The writings were cancelled, and Robert diſcarded from court with infamy and diſgrace. Whether he complained of the injuſtice of the former ſentence, or had broke out, upon the diſcovery of this impoſition, into any unguarded threats and menaces againſt his ſovereign, he was ſummoned before the Court of Peers, to anſwer for the ſhare he had in this forgery; but he refuſed to appear, and, after three citations, he was baniſhed the kingdom, and his eſtate confiſcated.

Thus exiled, he took refuge in the territories of the count of Namur, and afterwards retired into Brabant, from whence he came over to England, where he was kindly received by Edward, who treated him with the ſame marks of diſtinction, as were paid to David Brus at the French court.

Being a man of undaunted courage, mature experience, and great capacity, his opinion was much regarded in the councils of England; and as he was highly incenſed againſt Philip, he recommended an immediate and vigorous war with that prince, not merely for the recovery of Guienne,

but

but the entire reduction of the whole French monarchy.

Edward had agreed to ſubmit all his diſputes about Guienne to the award of the pope, though that pontiff was well known to be ſtrongly attached to the French intereſt; and Benedict adviſed Philip to compromiſe the difference in an amicable manner, that, peace being re-eſtabliſhed in Europe, he might ſet out on the expedition to Paleſtine.

Finding him ſtill deaf to all his remonſtrances, his holineſs inſiſted that he ſhould either begin the voyage immediately, or refund the money ariſing from the ſix years tenths of the revenues of the French clergy, granted by the late pope, towards defraying the expence of the cruſade.

Philip, who could no longer deceive him with vague promiſes and frivolous excuſes, at length plainly told him, that he would never agree to a peace with Edward, ſo long as he continued to afford ſhelter and protection to Robert d'Artois; and the king of England had too great a regard for his own honour and intereſt to abandon a man, who had thrown himſelf upon his mercy, and was capable of doing him the moſt important ſervice.

The pope, however, ſtill interpoſed his good offices, in order to effect an accommodation; and Edward ſent ambaſſadors to the French court, to adjuſt the articles of a peace. Theſe, indeed, were once ſettled to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties; but Philip inſiſting upon Scotland's being comprehended in the treaty, and that David de Brus ſhould be reſtored to the throne of that kingdom, the negociation was interrupted until the Engliſh ambaſſadors ſhould conſult their maſter on that ſubject; and Edward was ſo enraged at theſe new demands, that he ſwore he would ſooner deſtroy the whole realm of Scotland, than agree to ſuch conditions.

Every thing now ſeemed to portend a war between the crowns of France and England. The French had already begun hoſtilities, by invading Guienne and ſeizing the caſtles of that province. The king having convoked a parliament in Lent, acquainted them with the nature of his difference with Philip, the meaſures he had purſued in order to effect a peace, and the progreſs he had made in forming alliances with foreign ſtates, in caſe of a rupture; and they, as well as the nation in general, were extremely eager to begin the war, and revenge the hoſtilities which the French had committed.

The

The biſhop of Lincoln, and the earls of Saliſbury and Huntingdon, were ſent as ambaſſadors to the Continent, to complete the treaties which had been ſet on foot with different powers; they were particularly inſtructed to engage, if poſſible, Lewis count of Flanders in the league, by the offer of a match between his eldeſt ſon, and Jane the king's daughter; but he was too cloſely connected with Philip, to be influenced even by that temptation.

The ambaſſadors arriving at the court of Hainault, with a large train of young noblemen and knights, who lived at a vaſt expence, and made a very brilliant appearance, concluded the treaties with that count, the duke of Brabant, the marquis of Juliers, the counts of Gueldres, Loſſe, Mons, Marcke, Palatine, with ſeveral other princes of the empire, and even with the emperor Lewis of Bavaria himſelf, who engaged to furniſh Edward with a certain number of troops, to be maintained at the expence of England.

Though it was impoſſible to perſuade the count of Flanders to accede to the league, it was yet thought proper to tamper with the Flemings, who bore an irreconcileable antipathy to the French, and reaped great advantage from their commerce with Eng-

land. The large towns were, in ſome meaſure, independent of the count, and eſpecially the city of Ghent, which was entirely under the influence of a rich brewer, named James d'Artiville.

This plebean was a man of a bold and daring genius, extremely popular, and poſſeſſed of ſuch immenſe riches as enabled him to keep a guard of eighty ſoldiers about his perſon, and maintain ſpies in all the different towns of Flanders, to acquaint him with whatever paſſed in theſe places, that ſo he might take his meaſures accordingly. He was more abſolute than the count himſelf, and never ſcrupled to commit the moſt cruel and unjuſt actions, in order to ſtrengthen and ſupport his intereſt.

He retained in his ſervice a ſet of deſperate fellows, who executed his orders with blind and implicit obedience. He had, by means of theſe ruffians, diſpatched ſeveral noblemen, and baniſhed others, who preſumed to thwart his meaſures: he ſeized their eſtates into his own hands; and was become ſo deſpotic and formidable, that no perſon durſt venture to contradict whatever he thought proper to propoſe in the aſſembly of the eſtates of Flanders.

This

This demagogue the biſhop of Lincoln undertook to engage in the intereſt of his maſter, while his two colleagues ſet out for Bruges and Ypres, which, with large promiſes, and the grant of certain privileges in trade, they at laſt perſuaded to accede to the confederacy.

Count Lewis, on the other hand, employed his utmoſt endeavours in defeating the ſucceſs of the Engliſh negociations, and eſpouſed the cauſe of Philip with ſo much zeal, and even fury, that he put M. de Siger, a nobleman of Courtray, to death, without form or trial, or any other pretence but that he was attached to the intereſt of Edward.

He ſent his natural brother, Guy de Rickenbourg, with a body of forces, to take poſſeſſion of the iſle of Cadſant, to cut off all communication between England and the Low Countries, and, if poſſible, intercept the Engliſh ambaſſadors in their return. Theſe being informed of his deſign, were ſo prudent as to continue at Dort, until a fleet of forty ſhips arrived for their convoy: then they embarked for England, and at ſo critical a juncture, that, in their paſſage, they fell in with two large Flemiſh ſhips of war, having on board the biſhop of Glaſgow, with one hundred and fifty Scotti-

tiſh gentlemen, a ſum of money amounting to fifteen thouſand pounds, and a good body of ſoldiers, ſent by the king of France to the aſſiſtance of the Bruſſians in Scotland: the ſhips were taken and plundered; and the men either killed or made priſoners; the biſhop dying of his wounds in a few days after.

As Cadſant was now become a neſt of privateers, which intercepted all the ſhips that paſſed between England and Bruges, Ghent and Brabant, Edward reſolved to diſlodge Guy de Rickenbourg from that important poſt. Accordingly, he ſent the earls of Derby and Suffolk, the lords Beauchamp, Cobham, Bourchier, and Norwich, Sir Walter Manny, a knight of Hainault, with five hundred men at arms, and three thouſand archers, on board his fleet, to drive the Flemings from that iſland.

Their landing was oppoſed by Guy de Rickenbourg, at the head of five thouſand men; but the Engliſh archers, plying them with their arrows from the decks of the ſhips, obliged them to retire to a diſtance, and afforded the heavy-armed troops an opportunity of debarking, and drawing up in order of battle.

Then enſued a deſperate engagement, in which the earl of Derby was felled to the ground;

ground; but he was reſcued by the bravery of Sir Walter Manny, and the Flemings entirely routed, with the loſs of three thouſand men killed upon the ſpot. A great number of perſons of diſtinction were taken priſoners, among whom was Rickenbourg himſelf, for whoſe ranſom Sir Walter Manny received the ſum of eight thouſand pounds.

This victory, which was gained on the ninth day of November, was extremely agreeable to the party of d'Arteville, who preſſed Edward to come over immediately, and open the campaign; but he thought proper to defer his voyage, on account of ſome change which had lately happened in his affairs. The count of Holland and Hainault had died on the ninth day of June; and, though his ſon acceded to the league, the death of the father was an irreparable loſs to the common cauſe.

Notwithſtanding this delay, Edward ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to aſſert his title to the crown of France. With this view he had conſtituted John duke of Brabant his lieutenant and vicar-general in that kingdom, and commanded him to take claim and ſeizin of the realm in his name; but as war was not yet declared, the pope exerted his utmoſt efforts to prevent a rupture between

tween the two crowns, and, in consequence of his remonstrances, Edward appointed two commissioners to treat of a peace with France and Scotland. Two cardinals arrived in England, in order to forward the negociation; and, in the mean time, the parties agreed to a cessation of arms, till Midsummer in the succeeding year.

Edward, calling a parliament in the beginning of February,* obtained from the prelates, nobility, and freeholders, a moiety of their wool, which sold for four hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides a duty of two shillings upon every tun of wine, added to the usual customs paid by all foreign merchants, for the privileges they enjoyed by the charter of Edward I. At the same time the inferior clergy, assembled in convocation at St. Bride's in London, granted him a tenth of their revenues, exclusive of the triennial tenth which they had formerly consented to pay.

This was the heaviest tax with which the nation had ever been saddled; and it appeared so grievous and insupportable, that the king found it necessary to desire the two archbishops, and their suffragans, to represent the exigencies of the state to the people, in such

* A. D. 1338.

ſuch a full and circumſtantial manner, as might induce them to bear the burden without murmur or complaint.

And yet, great as this ſupply may ſeem to have been, conſidering the value of money in thoſe times, it was ſtill inſufficient to defray the expence of the preparations he was making, and fulfil the engagements he had contracted with foreign princes.

About this period, Edward found means to detach the lords Bret, Caumont, and other noblemen of Gaſcony, from the intereſt of Philip: he then borrowed money of ſeveral abbeys, for preſent uſe; and ordered his army and navy to rendezvous at the proper place without delay.

He commmitted the guardianſhip of the kingdom to his eldeſt ſon Edward, and every poſſible precaution being taken for preſerving the public tranquillity in his abſence, he ſet ſail from the port of Orewell on the ſeventeenth day of July, with a fleet of three hundred ſhips, accompanied by the the chief nobility of England; and, after a quick and eaſy paſſage, landed on the twenty-firſt of the ſame month at Antwerp, the capital city of John duke of Brabant.

On the day after his arrival he had a conference with James d'Arteville, who adviſed him

him to aſſume the title of king of France, in order to inſpire the troops with the greater courage and alacrity in his ſervice, and give the Flemings a pretext for aſſiſting him againſt their natural lord, and eluding the payment of a bond of two millions of Florins, which they had given to the pope, and obliged themſelves, on pain of an interdict, to pay to his holineſs, if ever they ſhould make war on the king of France.

Edward, who had long ſcrupled to take ſuch a ſtep, was, at laſt, perſuaded to agree to the propoſal. He had, at the requeſt of the pope, deputed the prelates of Canterbury and Durham, with three other ambaſſadors to the French court, with powers to conclude a peace with Philip, whom he ſtiled king of France; but now he revoked theſe commiſſions, and ſtrictly diſcharged them from doing any thing in his name, that might tend to the prejudice of his own right, or be conſidered as a tacit acknowledgment of Philip's title.

With regard to the oath of allegiance which he had taken to that prince, for the dutchy of Guienne, containing, or at leaſt implying, a full recognition of Philip's right to the crown of France, he conceived it to be of no conſequence, as he himſelf was at that time a minor, and the deed had been extorted

torted from him by mere force, and by the fear of loſing the province.

Though Edward had agreed to this meaſure in order to oblige the Flemings, he yet found his affairs in a much worſe condition than he had reaſon to expect. His allies, indeed, paid him a viſit ſoon after his arrival; but it was only to acquaint him that they could not be ready to take the field before the third day of Auguſt.

At the time appointed, all of them repaired to the place of rendezvous, except John duke of Brabant, who, though Edward's firſt couſin, had carried on a private treaty with Philip, whom he had aſſured that he would never embark in any ſcheme prejudicial to his intereſt. The abſence of this prince, who was one of the moſt powerful of the confederates, ſerved as a pretence for the reſt for declining to fulfil their engagements, until he ſhould be ready to enter upon action.

The king of England was ſo piqued at theſe frivolous excuſes, that he began to repent of having engaged in the enterpriſe, which, however, he could not abandon with honour: he, therefore, reſolved to fix the duke and inhabitants of Brabant in his intereſt, by granting certain privileges

in trade to Bruſſels, Malines, Lovain, and other commercial towns in John's dominions.

This expedient had the deſired effect: the Brabantins eſpouſed the cauſe of Edward with great alacrity; and John aſſured him that he would renounce all connection with Philip, and join the other allies in ſupporting his claim, to the utmoſt of his power.

They were again aſſembled about the middle of the month, and unanimouſly agreed to attack France, provided they could obtain the ſanction of the Imperial authority, to which they owed ſubjection. This they hoped to procure with the greater eaſe, as Philip had incroached upon the lands of the Empire, by ſeizing the caſtle of Crevecœur, in the Cambreſis, and putting a garriſon into Cambray, at the requeſt of the biſhop, who had ſollicited his protection.

The king reliſhed the propoſal; and, ſending the marquis of Juliers, with ſome other commiſſioners, to ſound the Imperial court, repaired himſelf to Coblentz, where the emperor readily granted all he required, and even created him vicar of the empire; a dignity which entitled him to receive the homage of all his German allies, and ſub-

jected

jected them entirely to his orders. He convoked another council at his return to Brabant, and it was unanimously resolved that their troops should assemble next year, on the eighth day of July, in order to begin the siege of Cambray.

Edward being determined to pass the winter in Brabant, that he might be at hand to hasten their preparations, and overawe the bishop of Liege, who was in French interest, sent for his queen to Antwerp, where, on the twenty-ninth day of November, she was delivered of her third son, named Lionel, who was afterwards created earl of Ulster and duke of Clarence.

The pope was highly incensed at the king's alliance with the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, who had been excommunicated and deposed by the late pontiff, for setting up an anti-pope, and receiving the Imperial crown from his hands; and he, therefore, required Edward to break off all connection with such an impious usurper, lest he should be involved in the same spiritual censures.*

The king was not so foolish as to follow the advice of a pontiff, who had been always attached to the cause of his enemy;

* A. D. 1339.

and, though the conferences for a peace were ſtill carrying on at Compeigne, in Arras, he continued his warlike preparations with great induſtry and vigour. The negociation was at laſt broken off, and Philip ſwore, in a tranſport of paſſion, that Edward ſhould not enjoy a foot of land in France, nor march one day through his territories without a battle.

By this time the king was ſo much diſtreſſed for want of money, that he was obliged to borrow large ſums at very high intereſt, and even pawn his queen's jewels for ſecurity; and it was probably owing to the ſame cauſe, that he agreed to a contract of marriage between his ſon prince Edward, and Margaret daughter to the duke of Brabant, from whom he received fifty thouſand pounds, as the portion of the young princeſs.

Having at length recruited his finances, he took the field on the twentieth day of September, and, marching from Valenciennes into the Cambreſis, laid waſte the whole country with fire and ſword, and reduced all the caſtles as he advanced. Then he fell into the Vermandois; but when he entered this country, which was part of the French dominions, the counts of Hainault and Namur withdrew with their forces, alledging that they

they had not engaged to ſerve out of the territories of the empire.

Notwithſtanding this defection, he determined to undertake the ſiege of Cambray, and actually ſat down before the place; but finding it ſtrongly fortified, and ſupplied with a numerous garriſon, he abandoned the enterpriſe, and advanced againſt the French army, with which Philip lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Peronne.

The two monarchs remained a whole week within two leagues of each other, in the fields between Vironfoſſe and Flemenguere, without coming to an action; and, on Wedneſday the twentieth of October, Edward ſent a herald to Philip, deſiring him to fix a day for the battle.

The French king named the following Friday, when both armies were drawn out early in the morning; the Engliſh and their allies making up about ſeven and forty thouſand men, and the enemy amounting to double that number. After having ſtood in order of battle, fronting each other the whole day, they returned to their reſpective camps, and appeared again next morning in the ſame diſpoſition.

The French being informed by one of their ſcouts, who had been taken priſoner

and diſmiſſed, that the Engliſh were in high ſpirits and eager for a battle, retired early in the afternoon to their camp, which they fortified with deep trenches, and trunks of trees cut down for the purpoſe; while Edward wheeled off towards Aveſnes, for the ſake of a more convenient ſituation, and ſent word to Philip that he would wait for him all Sunday in order of battle.

The French king, piqued at this defiance, would willingly have come to an engagement; but his council repreſenting the extreme folly of riſquing his crown, upon the iſſue of a battle with an enemy whom the ſeaſon of the year muſt ſoon compel to retire, he furniſhed his frontier towns with ſtrong garriſons, and then diſmiſſing his forces, returned to Paris. Edward being appriſed of his retreat, allowed the Germans to go home, and he himſelf, with his own troops, directed his march towards Bruſſels, where he arrived on the firſt day of November.

While the French in general expreſſed their zeal for the intereſt of Philip, the Normans gave a moſt ſignal proof of their loyalty and attachment. They ſent deputies to their king at Vincennes, propoſing, if he would permit his ſon John duke of Normandy to be their leader, to make a de-

deſcent upon England, and defray the greateſt part of the charges attending the expedition.

They undertook to furniſh four thouſand men at arms, ten thouſand croſs-bow men, and thirty thouſand foot ſoldiers, for the reduction of this kingdom, which was to be beſtowed upon prince John; and Philip readily agreed to the propoſal. The execution of this ſcheme was happily prevented, by the prudent meaſures taken in England for guarding the ſea-coaſts, and Philip's being obliged to employ his whole force in protecting his own dominions from an invaſion, with which Edward threatened them on the ſide of Flanders.

The Normans, however, laid waſte the iſland of Jerſey, and even landed on the coaſt of England, where they ſurpriſed the towns of Plymouth and Southampton, which they ſet on fire: but theſe hoſtilities were ſoon retorted by Robert lord Morley, who, with the ſhips under his command, deſtroyed about eighty veſſels in the different ports of Normandy, and burnt Treport and ſeveral places in the neighbourhood.

Edward's firſt campaign had not been productive of any real advantage, ſufficient to compenſate for the great expence which his armament and alliances had occaſioned.

He

He had made such large assignments upon his revenues, that, till these were revoked, he could expect no remittances from England; and he had borrowed three hundred thousand pounds sterling on the Continent, from persons whom he was obliged in honour to repay, before he could return to his own country.

His absence had occasioned many disorders in England, where bands of robbers and freebooters patrolled the kingdom in large bodies, and plundered the defenceless peasants; and the Russians had taken advantage of this circumstance, not only to recover what they had lost in Scotland, but even to invade the northern counties of England.

In order to repel these incursions, the parliament, which met on the thirteenth day of October, appointed commissioners for arraying the militia; and the clergy of York were desired to follow the example of those of Canterbury, in granting an aid for the defence of the kingdom.

The king was in hopes of obtaining a considerable subsidy from this parliament: he had sent over deputies to represent to them the nature of his necessities; and, in order to reduce them to comply with his demands, had empowered the archbishop

of

of Canterbury to grant them ſuch privileges as they could in reaſon deſire.

The earls and barons, after mature deliberation, agreed to give the tenths of their flocks and corn for one year; but the knights of the ſhires pretended that they could not agree to ſuch an aid, without conſulting their conſtituents, and begged they might be allowed a ſufficient time for that purpoſe. Accordingly, the determination of this affair was poſtponed to a new parliament, which was appointed to meet at Weſtminſter on the twentieth day of January; and, at their requeſt, a clauſe was added to the writ of ſummons, directing that none but knights,* or military tenants of the crown, ſhould be choſen for the ſeveral counties, and particularly, that no ſheriffs or placemen ſhould be returned.

This delay was extremely inconvenient for Edward: his allies demanded the payment of their ſubſidies: and the duke of Brabant would not conſent to his going over to England, unleſs he would give ſecurity for his returning within a week after Midſummer. He indulged that nobleman with a grant of fifteen hundred pounds a year; and promiſed to beſtow an Engliſh earldom upon the marquis of Juliers.

He

* "Gladiis cincti," *i. e.* Be-girt with ſwords.

He again attempted to detach the count of Flanders from the party of Philip, and engage him in his own intereſt, by promiſing to aſſiſt him in the recovery of Artois, to which he laid claim, and to give his daughter Iſabel in marriage to the count's eldeſt ſon: but all his endeavours proved fruitleſs and abortive: the count was too cloſely connected with Philip to be influenced by any temptations.

Nevertheleſs, he attached the Flemings more firmly to his intereſt, by engaging to reſtore them to the poſſeſſion of Liſle, Douay, and Bethune, which they had been obliged to deliver to Philip as pledges of their fidelity; and now ſeeing all hopes of peace entirely vaniſhed, he quartered the arms of France with thoſe of England. The inſcription on the great ſeal was altered from duke of Aquitaine to king of France, the former being abſorbed in the latter; and it was on this occaſion that he firſt adopted the motto of *Dieu et mon droit*, alluding to the deſign of maintaining his title to the crown of that kingdom.

The treaty between Edward and the Flemings being ſigned and ſealed at Ghent, they ſwore fealty, and did homage to him as lord paramount of their country; and then

then he publiſhed a manifeſto, aſſerting his right to the crown of France, and juſtifying the ſteps he had taken in ſupport of his title. He next called a council of his allies, where it was unanimouſly reſolved to begin the enſuing campaign with the ſiege of Tournay: then ſetting ſail for England, he arrived at Harwich on the twenty-firſt of February;* and that ſame day iſſued out writs for aſſembling a new parliament at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-ninth day of March.

In the former ſeſſion, which was held in January, orders had been given for fortifying Southampton and the Iſle of Wight, fitting out a fleet of one hundred and fifty ſail to protect the coaſts, ſending ſupplies of proviſion to the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and raiſing a body of ſeven hundred and eighty-one men at arms, two thouſand light horſe, and two thouſand and ten archers for defending the Marches againſt the incurſions of the Scots. Some propoſals had been made for granting a ſupply to his majeſty, but as he himſelf was arrived, the determination of that affair was referred to this new parliament, from which he received a very large and extraordinary aid, amounting to the ninth ſheaf

* A. D. 1340.

ſheaf of corn, and the ninth fleece of lamb for two years, to be levied on the prelates, earls, barons, and all freeholders and tenants of the kingdom: the citizens and burgeſſes gave a ninth of their goods and merchandize, according to the full value; but ſuch tradeſmen and inhabitants as lived in waſtes and foreſts, were only to pay a fifteenth of their moveables. The like grants were afterwards made by the counties palatine of Durham, Cheſter, Cornwall, &c as they were not then ſubject to the ſubſidies granted by parliament, in which, as yet, they had no repreſentatives.

In return for theſe liberal ſupplies, the king agreed to the remiſſion of all debts contracted, and the pardon of all treſpaſſes of the foreſt committed before his coronation: the two charters, with the privileges and franchiſes of boroughs, were confirmed: an uniformity of weights and meaſures was eſtabliſhed through the realm; and many excellent remedies were provided againſt the cruelty and oppreſſion of gaolers, the unneceſſary delay of law-ſuits, and the frauds of ſheriffs in farming the hundreds at higher rates than were paid to the crown.

It was likewiſe provided, that no ſheriff ſhould continue in office above one year; that all pardons for murders or felonies, contrary

contrary to the tenour of the coronation oath, ſhould be deemed null; and the king waved his right of purveyance in the contracts to be made with merchants, for ſupplying his forces and garriſons with proviſions.

The parliament ſeem to have been apprehenſive, that, ſhould Edward ſucceed in his deſign upon the crown of France, England muſt neceſſarily become a province of that kingdom: they therefore enacted a ſtatute, declaring that though Edward had aſſumed the title of king of France, the Engliſh owed him no ſubjection in that capacity, nor were any ways dependent upon that realm.

Beſides this great ſubſidy, the lords and commons granted a duty of forty ſhillings on every ſack of wool, and as much on every three hundred wool-fells, and on every laſt of leather for two years; on this condition, however, that after the expiration of that term, no more than the old cuſtom ſhould be charged on theſe commodities. It was alſo provided, that none of theſe aids ſhould be drawn into a precedent; and they, together with ſome branches of the ordinary revenue, were aſſigned for paying the king's debts, and defraying the expences of the war with France and Scotland.

Mean while, hoſtilities were recommenced on the frontiers of France and Flanders, in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes attended with various ſucceſs. In one of theſe, which was fought near Liſle, the French gained a conſiderable advantage over the Engliſh, the earl of Saliſbury, and Robert Ufford, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Suffolk, being taken priſoners.

Edward having obtained as large ſupplies as he could almoſt wiſh, and much greater than he could poſſibly expect, beſtowed the earldom of Cambridge upon the marquis of Juliers, iſſued writs for a new parliament, to be held on the ſeventh day of July, under the auſpices of his ſon prince Edward duke of Cornwall; and, in the mean time, determined to return to the Continent.

But he ſoon found, that this would be a more dangerous voyage than he at firſt imagined. He was informed by the duke of Gueldres, that Philip de Valois had advanced to the frontiers of the Low Countries, at the head of an army conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand men, and equipped a fleet of four hundred ſail, manned with Normans, Picards, and Genoeſe, to the number of forty thouſand, to intercept the king of England in his return to Flanders.

But

But as Edward ſeemed to deſpiſe the intelligence, and ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution of croſſing the ſea at the time he had appointed for his departure, which was the thirteenth day of June, the biſhop of Chicheſter, who was then chancellor, endeavoured to divert him from his purpoſe, and adviſed him to delay his voyage, till he ſhould have provided a fleet ſufficient to oppoſe that of the enemy.

The impatient monarch treated this advice with ſo little regard that the biſhop reſigned the ſeals of his office, and retired from court. The king, alarmed at his reſignation, conſulted with lords Morley and Crabbe, his two chief admirals; and they being of the ſame opinion with the prelate, he ordered the naval force of his kingdom, to the number of two hundred and forty ſail, to be aſſembled for his convoy. Nor did he think it beneath him to ſend for the biſhop to court, and re-deliver to him the great ſeal: a rare and uncommon inſtance of moderation and prudence in a young and victorious prince!

He gave orders for furniſhing this fleet with a ſtrong body of men at arms, and archers; and, having borrowed twenty thouſand marks of the city of London, embarked at Orewell, accompanied by the

principal nobility of England. Next day, in making the land of Blankenberg, he deſcried the maſts and ſtreamers of the enemy's fleet, lying in the harbour of Sluys, and ſet on ſhore ſome knights, to ſurvey them more narrowly, and bring him an account of their order and diſpoſition; but they returned with their intelligence ſo late that he could not begin the engagement that evening; though he would probably have had a great advantage in attacking them in the port, where the ſuperior number of their ſhips would have been of little ſervice, and, in caſe of a defeat, they had no means of eſcaping, as all the neighbouring ſhores were poſſeſſed by Edward's allies.

In the morning of Midſummer-day, he obſerved the French navy advanced about a mile without the harbour, and already ranged in three ſquadrons, commanded by as many admirals. He immediately drew up his fleet in the like order, placing the large ſhips in the firſt line, well provided with archers and men at arms alternately. The ſecond diviſion was ordered to keep aloof, as well to prevent the firſt from being ſurrounded by the enemy, as to ſupport it in caſe of neceſſity; and the third was allotted for the protection of the ladies, who

who were going to wait on the queen, and viſit their friends in Flanders, and for the defence of the tranſports, loaded with baggage, and warlike implements.

After having made this prudent diſpoſition, he hauled upon a wind, in order to gain the weather-gage; and then bearing down upon the enemy with undaunted reſolution, began a moſt deſperate and bloody engagement, which laſted from ten in the morning till ſeven at night. The ſhips immediately grappled with each other, ſo as to form a kind of ſtable and compact body, on which the ſoldiers and ſailors ſeemed to fight amidſt a grove of maſts.

The chief efforts of the French were directed againſt a large Engliſh ſhip, on board of which they imagined the king to be, as ſhe diſplayed the royal banner of England. Edward was in another ſhip, equally ſtrong, but leſs conſpicuous, where he continued to give his orders with a coolneſs and intrepidity that juſtly entitled him to the ſuperiority of the ſea, and rendered him a worthy anceſtor of thoſe monarchs, who were ever to remain the unrivaled lords of the watery element.

Encouraged by his exhortation, and animated by his example, the noblemen and

knights performed prodigies of valour: the Engliſh archers, who excelled all the world in bowmanſhip, ſwept the decks of the enemy's ſhips with thick and repeated ſhowers of arrows; and the men at arms, boarding their veſſels, attacked them with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that, in order to avoid the horrors of a more bloody death, they leaped into the ſea by hundreds.

The firſt diviſion of the French was thus defeated by main force, and the ſecond already thrown into confuſion, when lord Morley arrived at that critical moment, with the northern fleet, and ſome Flemiſh veſſels, and falling in among the ſhattered ſquadrons of the enemy, rendered the victory entire and complete.* Two of the French

* This defeat was conſidered in France as a terrible diſaſter, and gave ſuch a fatal blow to the naval force of that kingdom, that none of Philip's courtiers durſt acquaint him with his loſs. At laſt, his buffoon diſcovered the diſagreeable news by a ſly and artful jeſt. He came into the royal preſence, and exclaimed ſeveral times with great warmth and vehemence; "Cowardly Engliſhmen, daſtardly Engliſhmen, faint-"hearted Engliſhmen." The king aſked the reaſon of his giving them theſe opprobrious epithets; "becauſe," ſaid he, "they had not the courage to "leap into the ſea, like our brave Frenchmen." *Walſing.*

French admirals were ſlain, with upwards of twenty thouſand men; and though ſeveral of their veſſels eſcaped under the third admiral, two hundred and thirty of their largeſt ſhips were taken. The king received a ſlight wound in the thigh, and his loſs amounted to about four thouſand men: he paſſed that night on board, and the next day, landed with his forces at Sluys, from whence he proceeded to Ghent, where his queen had lately been delivered of a fourth ſon, who afterwards became ſo famous under the title of John of Ghent, and duke of Lancaſter.

This ſignal victory, not only induced the Engliſh to raiſe the ſupplies with uncommon alacrity, but alſo prompted the allies to exert their utmoſt endeavours in fulfilling their engagements. Theſe Edward convened in a general council at Vilvorden, where the dukes of Gueldres and Brabant, the marquis of Juliers, the counts of Hainault, Namur, and Mons, Robert d'Artois, and many other potent lords were preſent, beſides three or four deputies from each of the great towns of Flanders.

In this aſſembly the countries of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, engaged in a ſtrict alliance for their mutual defence, under the mediation of Edward, to whoſe award

ward they promiſed to ſubmit in all differences that might happen between them in the courſe of this aſſociation. There it was likewiſe reſolved, that two armies ſhould be immediately formed; one to be compoſed of Flemings, and a body of Engliſh archers; and the other of Edward's own troops, and thoſe of the allies.

The firſt, conſiſting of fifty thouſand men, was ſent, under the command of Robert d'Artois, to inveſt St. Omer, which was defended by Eudes IV. duke of Burgundy, and the count d'Armagnac, with a ſtrong garriſon; while the other, which amounted to twice that number, was led by the king in perſon to beſiege the city of Tournay.

Robert d'Artois arriving at St. Omer, opened his trenches on the twenty-ſecond day of July; but his attempts were rendered ineffectual by the puſillanimity of the Flemings, who were ſtruck with an unaccountable pannic, and, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of their leaders, betook themſelves to a precipitate flight, even before they were attacked by the enemy.

Edward, having reached Tournay by the twenty-ſixth day of the ſame month, ſent a challenge to Philip, offering to decide their quarrel either by ſingle combat, or by fighting

fighting at the head of one hundred men on each ſide, in order to prevent the effuſion of Chriſtian blood; or, ſhould he decline both theſe propoſals, deſiring he would appoint a day for a general engagement before the walls of Tournay.

Philip replied, that Edward having ſwore fealty to him for the dutchy of Guienne, and by that act acknowledged his ſuperiority, it ill became him to ſend a defiance to his liege-lord and ſovereign: that he hoped, in ſpite of all his mighty preparations, and the aſſiſtance of the rebellious Flemings, to be ſoon able to expel him from the territories of France: that, as Edward's hoſtilities had hindered him from undertaking his purpoſed cruſade againſt the Infidels, he truſted in the protection of the Almighty, who would not fail to reward his pious intentions, and puniſh the aggreſſor, whoſe ill-founded claim had embroiled the affairs of Europe: that Edward propoſed a duel on very unequal terms, in offering only to hazard his own perſon, againſt both the kingdom of France, and the perſon of the king; but that if he would increaſe the ſtake, and throw the kingdom of England into the ſcale, he would, notwithſtanding the inequality of terms even in that caſe, very chearfully accept

cept the challenge. It was eaſy to ſee that theſe mutual bravadoes were only meant to dazzle the eyes of the populace, and that the two kings had no intention to execute their pretended purpoſe.

Tournay being provided with a garriſon of fourteen thouſand regular troops, beſides about fifteen thouſand militia raiſed by the inhabitants, and commanded by Robert Bertrand, and Matthew de la Trie, mareſchals of France, aſſiſted by the counts of Eu, Guiſnes, Foix, Narbonne, and other gallant noblemen, Edward found it impoſſible to take it by ſtorm; and, after ſome deſperate but fruitleſs aſſaults, was obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade, in hopes of ſtarving them into a ſurrender.

Philip had ordered his forces to aſſemble at Arras, where he was joined by David de Brus king of Scotland, Philip king of Navarre, John king of Bohemia, the dukes of Brittany and Lorraine, the biſhops of Liege, Metz, and Verdun, and by the counts of Bar, Montbeliard, Genoa, and Savoy, with large bodies of troops from their ſeveral territories; and theſe ſuccours, when added to the forces of France, compoſed a mighty army, which was thought ſufficient to raiſe the ſiege of Tournay.

For

For this purpoſe Philip began his march from Arras, and encamped between the bridges of Creſſin and Bouvines, where he lay inactive for ſeveral weeks; during which ſeveral deſperate rencounters happened between detached parties of the two armies.

The town being, at laſt, reduced to extremity for want of proviſions, muſt either have ſurrendered to Edward, or Philip muſt have ventured a battle for its relief, had not Jane counteſs dowager of Hainault, ſiſter to Philip, and mother to Philippa queen of England, left the monaſtery, where ſhe had lived ever ſince the death of her huſband, and employed her good offices, in order to effect an accommodation.

In this humane and charitable work, ſhe was greatly aſſiſted by the inſtances of her ſon-in-law the marquis of Juliers, John de Hainault, the duke of Brabant, and others of Edward's allies; aad both parties agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms for three days, during which they propoſed to adjuſt the articles of a ſolid peace.

When the conferences on this ſubject were opened in the church of Eſplechin, there appeared little probability of their coming to an agreement; but, by dint of Jane's entreaties, a truce was concluded for the Low-Countries and Guienne, to continue

tinue in force till the enſuing Midſummer.

The articles provided, that both ſides ſhould retain the places they now poſſeſſed; that the ſiege ſhould be raiſed; that all priſoners ſhould be allowed to retire to their reſpective habitations, but ſhould return to the parties whoſe captives they were at the expiration of the truce; and, that the Scots, with ſome other allies, ſhould enjoy the benefit of this ceſſation, provided they ſhould chuſe to accept the offer.

It is hard to conceive what could induce Edward to agree to ſuch an impolitic truce, by which he reſigned the certain proſpect of taking Tournay, and all the advantages of a ſucceſsful campaign. Perhaps, ambitious as he was, he was really influenced by the importunities of his mother-in-law, and conſequently of his queen: perhaps he was afraid of diſobliging his allies, to whom he was unable to pay the ſtipulated ſubſidies: perhaps he was even ſuſpicious of the fidelity of ſome of them from the late conduct of the Flemings at St. Omer.

Whatever was his motive, he immediately ſent deputies to Arras, to treat with the French commiſſioners concerning the terms of a final accommodation, which the pope's legates ſtill laboured, in vain, to accompliſh.

Edward

Edward was now become ſo moderate in his demands, that he inſiſted upon nothing but the enjoyment and abſolute ſovereignty of Guienne; but this the French king refuſed to grant, or even to treat on the ſubject of a peace, until he ſhould have renounced the title and name of France, which he had lately aſſumed.

Theſe difficulties put an end to the conferences; and all that the mediators could obtain, was a continuation of the truce for a year longer, which ſeems to have been attended with no other advantage than the exchange of ſome priſoners, particularly of the earl of Saliſbury for the earl of Murray, and of Robert de Ufford for Charles de Montmorency.

By this time Edward began to repent of having raſhly embarked in an expenſive war, in which he ſaw little probability of ſucceeding, and ſtill leſs of extricating himſelf from it with ſafety and honour. He could not ſupport it without allies; and they were ſo mercenary and rapacious, that he could neither depend upon their fidelity, nor gratify their avarice.

He had not, as yet, received any ſupplies from England; and, being unable to pay their ſubſidies, his credit began to ſuffer, and their zeal and ardour gradually to cool.

They were unwilling to provoke Philip beyond all poſſibility of a reconciliation; and, for this reaſon, they had compelled Edward to agree to the truce which had been lately concluded. He had been obliged to give them bonds and ſecurities for large ſums, at an exhorbitant intereſt; and now leaving Henry of Lancaſter, earl of Derby, in pawn for the payment, he repaired privately with his queen to Zealand, where he immediately ſet ſail for England.

After a dangerous and difficult paſſage of three days, he landed, on the laſt day of November, about midnight, at the Tower of London, which, as his arrival was unforeſeen, he found utterly unguarded. For this ſhameful neglect of duty, Nicholas de la Beche, the conſtable, and all his ſubalterns, were committed to cloſe cuſtody. But the chief weight of his reſentment fell upon the officers of the revenue, to whom he imputed the failure of his remittances, and the loſs and diſhonour which, by that means, he had ſuffered abroad.

The biſhops of Chicheſter and Litchfield were removed from their offices of chancellor and treaſurer: Sir John St. Paul, keeper of the privy-ſeal, the ſheriffs of counties, the collectors of taxes, and other public officers, were deprived of their employments;

ployments; and a commiſſion was given to certain juſtices, to enquire into their failures and miſdemeanours, in conſequence of which they were puniſhed with great ſeverity.

John Stratford, archbiſhop of Canterbury, would probably have met with the ſame fate, had not he happened to be abſent from London at the time of the king's arrival; and, being afterwards appriſed of his majeſty's diſpleaſure, had taken great care to ſcreen himſelf from the impending danger. This prelate had been entruſted with the charge of paying the king's debts to the towns and merchants of Brabant and Flanders; and, though the firſt year's ninth had been allotted for that purpoſe, the commiſſioners or collectors had neglected to remit the money: an omiſſion which had greatly hurt the king's reputation, and been the chief cauſe of his diſappointment at Tournay.

Edward ſent Nicholas de Canteloup, with a public notary, to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to require that prelate to take care of his bonds, and either diſcharge them immediately, or go over to Flanders, and remain in that country until the creditors ſhould be ſatisfied. In the mean time, he ordered the metropolitan to come to court,

and answer for the conduct of those to whom he had committed the management of the royal revenue. Stratford excused himself from repairing to court, where, he alledged, he could not appear with any regard to his personal safety; and, as to the other part of the king's proposal, he said he must have time to consider the matter.

Not satisfied with this neglect of his majesty's orders, he convened the clergy and laity of Canterbury in the cathedral, where, in a long and laboured harangue, he extolled the behaviour of Thomas Becket; blamed himself for having been too much engaged in secular affairs; declared his resolution to maintain the rights of the church; and, as the imprisoned officers were mostly ecclesiastics, denounced a sentence of excommunication against all who should seize the persons, lands, or goods of the clergy, invade the liberties of the church, and the privileges established by Magna Charta, or inform against a bishop for treason, or any other capital crime. He afterwards wrote a letter to the king, in which he acquainted him with the censures he had passed; complained of the imprisonment of the clergy, which he imputed to the pernicious suggestions of evil counsellors; advised him to call a council of the prelates

prelates and peers of the realm, in order to make a ſtrict enquiry into the embezzlement of the wool and money granted by the late parliament; and offered to ſtand to the judgment of his peers, ſaving, however, the rights of holy church, and the dignity of his own order.*

The king having read this letter, ſent Ralph lord Stafford, ſteward of the houſhold, to demand the reaſon of the cenſures which the archbiſhop had iſſued, and require his attendance at court, about matters of the higheſt importance to the king and kingdom.

John alledged, that he could not obey the king's order, without expoſing himſelf to the moſt imminent danger, from the power and malice of his enemies; and, though he was furniſhed with a ſafe-conduct, he ſtill contrived ſome frivolous excuſes, in order to conceal his diſobedience. He profeſſed himſelf a champion for the liberties of the clergy; and ſent mandates to his ſuffragans, to publiſh his cenſures, and inhibit eccleſiaſtics from paying the ninth lately impoſed in parliament, becauſe they were loaded with a tenth which they had before granted in convocation.

* A. D. 1341.

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The king, enraged at these violent proceedings, discharged the bishops from publishing the censures, or the mandate; and wrote a letter to the prior and chapter of Canterbury, representing the unjustifiable behaviour of the archbishop, and requiring them to publish it to the people in all proper places.

Soon after, some merchants of Brabant, commissioned by the duke, repaired to Canterbury, and, being denied admittance to the primate, fixed a summons on the public cross, near the gate of the priory, requiring him, in the duke's name, to appear in his courts of justice, to answer for the debts in in which he was bound, and continue in the Low Countries until they should be paid.

The king's letter being read in the cathedral, before a numerous audience, the archbishop made a public defence from the pulpit, to the articles of the charge which was brought against him, and which he treated as a scandalous libel. He likewise justified his conduct in a written apology, in which he insisted at great length upon the many services he had done the state, particularly in making thirty-two voyages to the Continent, almost entirely at his own expence, and without receiving any other allow-

allowance than the ſum of three hundred pounds; though it appears, from Rymer, that he had no leſs than five thouſand marks aſſigned him for that very purpoſe.

The king made a ſhort reply to this apology, which he charged with groſs prevarication; reprimanded the primate for his inſolence and diſloyalty; and ſtrictly forbade him, and all other biſhops, to publiſh any ſpiritual cenſures prejudicial to the royal prerogative, as enjoyed by his predeceſſors. An information was preferred againſt the primate in the court of exchequer, before which he was cited to appear; but he refuſed to anſwer to a charge of ſuch an important nature, before any other judicature than that of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, aſſembled in parliament.

When the aſſembly met at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-third day of April, the metropolitan appeared, under the protection of a ſafe-conduct, with a numerous train of biſhops, clergy, and laics; but was not allowed to take his ſeat, until he ſhould have put in an anſwer to the articles exhibited againſt him in the exchequer.

He accordingly repaired to that court, where he received a copy of the accuſation, of which he promiſed to conſider, and then returning to the houſe, inſiſted upon taking his

his ſeat as the firſt peer of the kingdom. Being again refuſed admittance, he ſtood at the door with his croſs in his hand, and declared his reſolution to ſupport the rights of the church; but all his attempts were ineffectual, even though he entreated ſome lords, as they were coming out of the houſe, to interpoſe their good offices with the king in his favour.

Moſt of the prelates conceived themſelves to be deeply intereſted in his quarrel; and many of the temporal peers were either well-affected to his cauſe, or, at leaſt, thought this a favourable opportunity for gaining ſome new rights, or ſecuring their old privileges.

When the king, in a full meeting of both houſes, on the twenty-ſixth day of April, deſired them to repreſent all manner of grievances, they brought in a bill, couched in the form of a petition, requiring that the peers of the land ſhould not be obliged to anſwer to any charge preferred againſt them by the king, except in parliament; and as this demand might ſeem to be inconſiſtent with the intereſt of the government, which could not wait for the regular convocation and ſlow proceedings of a parliament to puniſh every offender, they petitioned the king for leave to appoint a committee

mittee of twelve perſons, compoſed of four biſhops, four earls, and four barons, to conſider in what caſes peers ſhould be bound to anſwer in any other court than that of the parliament.

The committee having made their report, a warm debate enſued; but, at laſt, it was unanimouſly agreed that peers ſhould be tried only by their peers in parliament; and that their temporalties, lands, tenements, and effects ſhould not be ſeized, nor their perſons arreſted, for any thing relating to ſuch offices as they ſhould enjoy under the crown; ſaving, however, the king's rights, and the ſuits of parties; and provided that thoſe peers, who were ſheriffs, or farmers of counties in fee, or had received any of the king's money and effects, ſhould account for every thing of that nature either by themſelves, or their attornies, in the uſual places.

This law immediately related to the caſe of the archbiſhop, who declared himſelf ready to anſwer to his charge in full parliament; and then making his ſubmiſſion to the king in the Painted-chamber, he was graciouſly received, admitted to his ſeat, and aſſured of a fair and equitable trial, as ſoon as the affairs of the nation ſhould be fully ſettled.

The

The biſhops of Durham and Sarum, with the earls of Northampton, Arundel, Warwick, and Saliſbury, were ordered to receive and conſider of his anſwers, which ſhould be referred to the next parliament; but that aſſembly not meeting till two years after, the primate found means to recover the king's favour, and the proceſs againſt him was annulled.

The End of the THIRTEENTH VOLUME.

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than

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